

Gc
929.2
Od2dew
1628855

M. L.

REYNOLDS HISTORICAL
GENEALOGY COLLECTION

✓

6c

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 1833 01420 0676



THE STORY OF AN IRISH SEPT
THE O'DEVLINS OF TYRONE

(Now represented by the surnames of
Devlin, Develin, Develyn, D'Evelyn,
Develen, Develan, Develon, Devalon,
DeValon, Devolen, Devellen, Devellin, etc.)

With accompanying information about the septs of
MacCabe, MacCaffrey, MacCawell, MacDonneil,
MacDowell, MacGovern, MacLoughlin, MacManus,
MacMurrough, MacNamee, MacRory, MacSheehy,
MacSweeney, Maguiggan, Maguire, O'Cahan,
O'Cassidy, O'Connellan, O'Corr, O'Devin,
O'Doherty, O'Donnell, O'Donnelly, O'Hagan,
O'Hara, O'Higgins, O'Kelly, O'Mellon, O'Mulhollan,
O'Neill, O'Quinn and others.

BY

JOSEPH CHUBB DEVELIN, Ph.D.

Third edition

Published by the author
7017 McCallum St.,
Philadelphia 19, Pa.

1628855

Copyrighted
by
Joseph C. Develin
June, 1951

TYPEWRITTEN AND REPRODUCED BY
COLLEGE OFFSET PRESS
148-150 N. SIXTH ST., PHILADELPHIA 5, PA.

17-52
Joseph C Develin

TO THE MEMORY OF MY BELOVED WIFE
JEANNETTE MILLSPAUGH DEVELIN

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
FOREWORD	vii
PREFACE	ix
INTRODUCTION	1
GENEALOGICAL CHART	6
CHAPTER I THE ANTECEDENTS OF THE SEPT	7
CHAPTER II THE STORY OF THE SEPT	33
CHAPTER III SINCE THE CLAN DAYS	68
NOTES TO INTRODUCTION	90
NOTES TO CHAPTER I	94
NOTES TO CHAPTER II	106
NOTES TO CHAPTER III	127
APPENDIX I THE ORIGIN AND DESCENT OF THE DEVLINS .	141
APPENDIX II THE O'DEVLINS OF SLIGO	146
APPENDIX III DEVLINS IN LEINSTER	150
APPENDIX IV THE WICKLOW DEVLINS - A REBEL FAMILY	153
APPENDIX V FORMS OF THE SURNAME	157
APPENDIX VI MUNTEREVLIN	172
APPENDIX VII DEVLIN LANDHOLDERS IN IRELAND 1847-1864	175
BIBLIOGRAPHY	177
INDEX	190

FOREWORD

TO THE AMERICAN READER

Some eighteen years ago Dr. Develin addressed to University College, Dublin, a number of queries in regard to material for a book which he proposed to write on the history of the O'Devlins. Through the College these queries reached the writer, who, having tried as best he could to solve the problems set, thought no more of the matter.

But soon it became evident that this American was by no means the casual inquirer that might be supposed. Answers led to further questions, till in the end Dr. Develin's unwearying industry, his infectious enthusiasm for his subject, and his patience and skill as a pathfinder in the wide and almost uncharted regions of early Irish history broke down all defences, so that the occasional consultation of sources for him, which had at first threatened to be a task, very soon became a pleasure.

Hence the envoi to the published results of his labours, though ordinarily it might be considered presumptuous, may be permitted to one who was the regular correspondent of the author and to whom it fell to collect here in Ireland some of the material for the early part of the work.

This is not the place to assess the value of Dr. Develin's book, much less to sing its praises. Yet it is due to him to say that there is little he can have left undone to make his study exhaustive. Coming to his task with, as he would be the first to admit, only a dim idea of its magnitude, he has levied solid contribution on all the printed and manuscript sources available, and withal, so far is he from pretending to have said the last word on this particular piece of Irish history that one of the special merits of his work is its avoidance of those irritating generalizations, conjectures, and unproven assertions of which many historical writers have not infrequently been guilty in works of this kind.

It is now generally agreed that the sifting of the genealogical material, much of which is still in manuscript, is the first essential to the serious study of early and mediaeval Irish history. Beginning with the genealogies, the author has, chapter by chapter, followed the fortunes of his sept and, one may venture to say, filled in as completely as is possible, in the present state of knowledge, the details of his story.

In the course of his researches Dr. Develin was fortunate enough to have had generous assistance, at one time or another, from nearly all the outstanding authorities, - and that, alas, none too soon. The mention of such scholars as Dr. J. F. Kenney in America, and of Dr. Eoin MacNeill, Father Walsh, and Professor Edmund Curtis here at home, is a sad reminder of the heavy losses lately sustained in the field of Irish historical studies. Ar dheis Dé go rabh siad uile (May they all rest in peace.)

Closer cultural links between the Irish in Ireland and the Irish in America, forged from the history that is common to both, was a cause that the late Professor MacNeill never tired of pleading, and it is certain that the history of the O'Devlin sept by Dr. Develin would have pleased him greatly, for it may be hoped that it will awaken in many

Irish-Americans a curiosity concerning the "rock from whence they were hewn", and at the same time bring home to us in Ireland that, in the words of Thomas Davis, "this country of ours is no sand bank, thrown up by some recent caprice of earth. It is an ancient land, honoured in the archives of civilization".

Finally, this book written by an American about the history of Ireland should have an appeal transcending merely national feelings; for the author, in turning a stone in Ireland, has given us a glimpse, in microcosm, of the later development of that Celtic civilization which, before it was crushed by the steamroller of imperial Rome, was the way of life in a great part of Europe, that Europe which is the common ancestor of this small country and of the colossus which is America to-day. In fine, Dr. Develin has turned over a page in the history of mankind.

Terence Rafferty

PREFACE

The author is under especial obligation to his correspondents, without whose assistance this story of an Irish sept could not have been written. Such a wealth of new information has been received from Irish scholars since the publication of the first edition of this book in 1938 that later editions were needed to preserve their contributions for posterity. This third edition contains numerous additions to and corrections of the second, but in the present stage of so complicated and comparatively little explored a subject as Irish clan history it would be rash to claim that any book dealing with it is free from errors. It is encouraging, however, to note that the errors and omissions detected in the second edition are fewer and less glaring than those found in the first. For all errors of fact or interpretation yet remaining the author, and not his correspondents, must be held responsible.

Little progress had been made in writing this history of the Devlins before it became apparent that an authority on the genealogies and a scholar acquainted with Old, Middle and Modern Irish would have to be consulted as to the family's descent. It was the author's good fortune to obtain such assistance from Mr. Terence Rafferty, of Clontarf, Assistant Secretary to the Department of Education, M.A. of the National University, and the author of Genealogical Tracts, a study of the Genealogies of Duaid MacFirbis. Mr. Rafferty very kindly took an interest in the author's project and consulted a manuscript of genealogies in the library of University College, Dublin, in order to establish the identity of the family's eponymous ancestor. His investigation laid the foundation for this book, and in the intervening eighteen years Mr. Rafferty has contributed an immense amount of fresh material of all kinds, including translations, interpretations and corrections.

The author's next correspondents were two members of the family who were born in the original Devlin territory. These were the late Mr. John Devlin, of Sessiagh, Coagh, Tyrone, a Justice of the Peace for County Tyrone and formerly Rural District Councillor for Munterevlin Division of Cookstown Rural District, and his son Dr. J. G. Devlin, a physician. In his office of Rural Councillor Mr. Devlin represented the land of his ancestors, a portion of which is included in Munterevlin, a place-name derived by corruption and contraction from two Irish words meaning People of Devlin. Obligations to both father and son are evident in many parts of this book, and the latter has contributed information from personal experience of life and conditions in the Devlin country at the present day.

Another Irish correspondent who contributed to the first edition was Mr. H. L. Glasgow, recently deceased, editor and proprietor of The Mid-Ulster Mail, in Cookstown, Tyrone. Mr. Glasgow, who was both a journalist and an antiquarian, was well acquainted with the neighboring Devlin country. He very kindly consented to review the text of this book, to which he supplied much information that could not otherwise have been obtained, and corrected many errors. Mr. Glasgow wrote a review of the first edition for The Mid-Ulster Mail of Sept. 3, 1938, which contained additional data that have been incorporated in later editions.

In the production of the second and third editions the author is again much indebted to Mr. Rafferty and to Mr. Glasgow, and again has been fortunate in obtaining the collaboration of a member of the family, Dr. Arthur J. Devlin, of Foxrock, County Dublin, who has made extensive investigations in the history of the Devlins, and has been of the greatest assistance in his interpretation of the mass of information that he has so generously supplied. Dr. Devlin is Medical Officer of Health for the Stillorgan District of his county and a veteran of the First World War, having served as a line officer of the Leinster Regiment from 1916 to 1922.

This history has profited greatly from the aid of Eoin MacNeill, D.Litt., late Professor of Early and Mediaeval Irish History in University College, Dublin, from whose books much had been borrowed in writing the first edition. Dr. MacNeill, whose death was so great a loss to Irish scholarship, had thrown new light on the origin and descent of the Devlins in a personal letter and in a review of the first edition which appeared in Irish Historical Studies (September, 1939).

Without the assistance of an authority on the history of the Ulster clans and their lands, the portion of this study dealing with the location and extent of the original Devlin territory could not have been written. This assistance has been furnished by Dr. Séamus Ó Ceallaigh, till recently Lecturer in Obstetrics at University College, Dublin, and a member of the Hospitals Commission, who has found time from a busy life to supply indispensable data on many subjects.

Irish scholars on this side of the Atlantic have also contributed greatly to the composition of the second and third editions. The late James F. Kenney, PH.D., D.Litt., Director of Historical Research in the Public Archives of Canada, in Ottawa, and author of The Sources for the Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, had reviewed the typescript and had very kindly corrected errors both of fact and in its plan. Dr. Kenney will be greatly missed by the many students who had benefited from his encouragement and who had enjoyed the quiet charm of his personality.

Mr. James E. McGuire of New York City, Division Supervisor of the New York Board of Education, has devoted more than forty years to a study of the Irish annals and genealogies, and has contributed articles on Irish subjects to The Irish Advocate. His valuable collection of books dealing with Irish history contains many rare volumes. From his profound knowledge of the Irish clans Mr. McGuire has furnished material that appears in every part of this history.

His son, Mr. James K. McGuire, M.A. of Fordham University and a former officer in the United States Navy, has inherited his father's love of research. He has also contributed much valuable information, particularly for the period of the Confiscations, concerning which he has made himself an authority by a study of contemporary maps and documents. Both father and son are members of the American Irish Historical Society.

The author is also grateful to Tadhg O Donnchadha, D.Litt., Emeritus Professor of Irish in University College, Cork, for translations from The Book of Clondeboy (Leabhar Cloinne Aodha Buidhe) which he made for Mr. Rafferty; to James Hogan, D.Litt., Professor of History in University College, Cork, who supplied Mr. Rafferty with much material on the probable date when the O'Devlins first occupied Munterevlin;

to the late Professor Edmund Curtis, M.A., of Trinity College, Dublin, for useful advice and information; to the Rev. John Ryan, S.J., D.Litt., Professor of Early and Mediaeval Irish History in University College, Dublin, who gave Mr. Rafferty his opinion as to the etymology of Devlin; to Mr. Gerard Slevin, Chief Herald, of the Genealogical Office, Dublin Castle, for information about the Devlin or Develin coat of arms, and his opinion as to the date of its origin; to the Very Rev. Canon Myles V. Ronan, of Dublin, editor of Brother Luke Cullen's manuscripts dealing with the Rebellions of 1798 and of 1803 in Wicklow, who gave assistance to Dr. Arthur J. Devlin in his investigation of the Wicklow branch of Devlins; to Mr. Denis Devlin, Secretary of the Irish Legation in Washington, for information about the Donegal Devlins; to Mrs. Louis Roche (born Anne Devlin, daughter of Mr. John Devlin of Munterevlin) for lending the author a portrait of the celebrated Ann Devlin, adherent of Robert Emmet; to Sir Patrick Devlin and to his brother the Rev. Christopher Devlin, S.J., for information about their branch of the family; to Mr. John Glasgow, who aided his brother Mr. H. L. Glasgow, in furnishing information about the Devlin country; to Mr. J. F. Cahill, of the American Irish Historical Society in New York City, for suggestions in regard to the use of the society's large library of books on Irish subjects; to Professors Dora Neill Raymond and Joseph Dexter Bennett, of Sweet Briar College, Virginia, for corrections in the text of the first edition; to the author's son and daughter, Mr. John C. Develin, A.B. of Harvard University and ex-navigator in the U.S. Army Air Corps, and Mrs. Arthur Blanchard, A.B. of Smith College, and to his sister Mrs. Doris Develin Baker, all of Philadelphia, for assistance in preparing later editions for publication.

The author is also indebted for information about Devlins in the United States to his father, Mr. John F. Develin, late member of the Philadelphia Bar; to Miss Hattie Thompson, of Davidson, North Carolina; to Miss Mary Devlin, of New York city; to the late Dr. Joseph Devlin, the distinguished lexicographer; and to Capt. Jones F. Devlin, General Manager of the United States Lines, both of the same city; to the late Mr. William H. Devlin, and to his son Mr. Arthur Coghlan Devlin, members of the California Bar; to Mrs. James Henry Devlin, of Boston, Massachusetts; to Mrs. Curt Buddrus, of Muskogee, Oklahoma; to Miss Mary Ashley of the Historical Society of Greenfield, Massachusetts; to Mrs. Emma B. Hawley, of The Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio; to Mr. Philip Devlin, of Jacksonville, Florida, and to his son Mr. Philip Devlin, Jr., of Miami, Florida.

James T. White and Company of New York City, publishers of The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography, have very courteously permitted access to their files, and the staffs of the following libraries have kindly given assistance in the execution of this study - The Bodleian Library, Oxford; The British Museum Library, London; The Newberry Library, Chicago; The New York Public Library, in New York City; The Free Library of Philadelphia; The Library of the University of Pennsylvania; The Ridgeway Branch of the Philadelphia Library; The Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia; The Library of Princeton University; and The Library of Congress, in Washington, D.C.

The libraries most consulted by Irish correspondents have been - The Library of the Royal Irish Academy; Trinity College Library; The

National Library of Ireland; The Library of University College, Dublin, The Library of the Royal Dublin Society, and also the files of The Public Record Office, all in Dublin; and The Library of University College, Cork.

INTRODUCTION

Concerning European family histories it is said in the Encyclopaedia Britannica: "In no way is the gap made by the Dark Ages between ancient and modern history more marked than by the fact that no European family makes a serious claim to bridge it with its genealogy."¹ The author of this statement should investigate the subject of Milesian² (Gaelic Irish) genealogies for an exception to his assertion. In other parts of Europe, after the fall of the Roman Empire, the invasion of barbarian tribes resulted in a breaking up of the old civilization and a general loss or destruction of family records. Ireland, however, which never formed a part of the Roman Empire, was not affected by these events. She maintained her distinctive culture unimpaired and in fact during the so-called Dark Ages served as missionary for Western Europe. For this reason she has been fortunate in preserving the books and documents for a reconstruction of the histories of those families that were included in her clan system, although only a small part of this material has been as yet used. No other European country possesses so large a collection of historic data, furnishing continuous and authentic information from so early a period.³

The clan system was a social and political organization very widely distributed in early times.⁴ Before the coming of the Romans the Celtic inhabitants of England were also organized in clans,⁵ and the Gaelic-speaking clans of the Scottish Highlands retained their identity long after the suppression of their Irish counterparts. Since the disintegration of the Scottish clans was of a gradual nature and, in general, not accompanied by confiscations and forcible evictions,⁶ there is fortunately not present in Scotland that memory of past persecutions and injustices which has embittered relations between the Irish and the English. The most important distinction in the histories of the two countries was the absence in Scotland of large settlements of aliens, differing both in race and in religion from the natives, who in Ireland were granted title to great tracts of land in all parts of the island.

The Scotch also differ from the Irish in that they still have a strong sentimental attachment for their clans, as shown by the wearing of clan tartans, periodical clan gatherings, and other manifestations of clan solidarity. That sort of feeling has been almost totally lacking in Ireland, although there are some present signs of an attempt to revive it by such an association as that recently projected among the O'Hares, to resuscitate memories of an almost forgotten past and to foster friendly relations among those of this surname in Ireland and throughout the world.⁷

Largely because of the romantic light thrown on their past by Sir Walter Scott, the histories of Scottish clans have received much attention. In comparison, the histories of Irish clans have been little investigated, although they contain material quite as vivid as those of the Scotch and, with few exceptions, far surpass the latter in the recorded antiquity of their origins. Notwithstanding the labors of that great pioneer John O'Donovan, and the work of some of his worthy successors, Irish clan history is so involved that much remains to be done. Mrs. A. S. Green has said: "There are no monographs on Desmonds, O'Neills,

O'Donnells, Fitzgeralds, Butlers, Clanrickards, and so on. No annals of the provinces or kingdoms have been compiled, nor chronologies. The work of the two great Earls of Kildare is one of the most important periods of Irish history. It still awaits a historian."⁸ Since the above was written, early in the present century, Thomas Mathews has produced a three-volume history of the Ulster O'Neills, and some other work of a similar nature has been accomplished, but Irish history still offers fields of practically unexplored territory. As the O'Devlins were a minor sept, their record is certainly not above the average among Milesian families from the viewpoint either of historic interest or of dramatic incident. It would be possible to name many families, whose histories have never been written, that would offer more striking material in both of these respects than that here presented.

In writing this history reliance has been placed on such sources of information as the ancient Irish annals and genealogies, the Irish State Papers, early maps, ordnance surveys, historical atlases, census returns, directories, land valuations, and other books or documents of an official nature and contemporaneous, so far as possible, with the events herein related. For general historical references, especially with respect to the earlier period, the books consulted have been written, for the most part, since the revival of Gaelic studies in Ireland. With a few distinguished exceptions these are by historians of the present century, whose works will be found included in the bibliography at the end of this volume, and the reader is referred to them for further information about some of the main events of Irish history that have been introduced as a background to this story. It is suggested that A. S. Green's History of the Irish State to 1014, and Edmund Curtis's History of Mediaeval Ireland should be read as introductions to the first two chapters, or a more condensed account of early and mediaeval Irish history may be found in the two studies by the Rev. John Ryan listed in the bibliography. Sufficient background for the unhappy centuries that succeeded the Confiscations may be obtained from A Short History of the Irish People by M. Hayden and G. A. Moonan.

Duald MacFirbis, who in the seventeenth century compiled the genealogies of the principal clans of Ireland in nine books, makes a distinction between genealogies, which relate to the origin of tribes, clans and septs; and pedigrees, that deal with the descent of individuals. This study could be classed in the first category, its purpose being to give an account of the Devlins as a group. Logically such a story might very well terminate with the confiscation of their land when the Ulster Plantation was established by James I, as since then the Devlins have had no common life nor common history. For the sake of continuity, however, some examples of the later activities of individual members of the family have been given. Since the investigations in this connection have been of a random nature it is quite possible that some names have been omitted which are more noteworthy than others that have been included.

No individual pedigrees have been attempted in this history, such as those to which John O'Hart devoted the work of a lifetime. His books abound with detailed lineages that profess to trace the descent of persons now living not only to authentic ancestors of the early Christian Era, but for several milleniums before that time to the legendary forefathers of the Milesian race. Such pedigrees are easy enough to construct

if connection can be effected with names that appear in genealogies like those of MacFirbis. They are, however, of doubtful value from the viewpoint of abstract truth, since even if all links in the chain of generations can be established by documentary evidence, and disregarding adoptions for which the Brehon Law made detailed provision, the disturbing thought intrudes that it would also be necessary to guarantee the marital constancy of every ancestress in the lineage over a period of many centuries if the record of these immensely extended pedigrees is to be accepted as authentic, since a single lapse in virtue by any female might invalidate the descent. To take a conspicuous example of such uncertainties, many contemporaries of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, believed that he was the grandson of a Dundalk blacksmith, and not of Conn O'Neill the "Halt", and was therefore not even an illegitimate offspring of the royal stock.

In the specific case of the Devlins, the principal difficulties of constructing an individual pedigree would not be found in the earlier portion. Down to the eponymous⁹ or name-giving ancestor of the sept we are dealing with public characters, most of whom appear frequently in the annals, and whose claims to the kingship or chieftainship were subjected to particular scrutiny. The genealogical chart that follows this introduction may be literally correct as it stands, and is probably so from the fourth century onwards. But since the O'Devlins were dispossessed of their hereditary lands as early as the first years of the seventeenth century, a deprivation probably accompanied by a loss of genealogical records, insuperable obstacles might well be encountered in attempting to connect any living Devlin with his eponymous forebear. In any case the doubtful results obtained, if such an attempt were successful, would hardly repay the research necessary for this purpose, since the product of such an investigation would consist of a mere aggregation of names, filling in nearly thirty generations of ancestors concerning whose lives we would know little or nothing, and for whose credentials as genuine progenitors it would be impossible to vouch with any certainty.

No such difficulties as above described arise, however, in a tribal genealogy, as distinguished from an individual pedigree. All Devlins are necessarily descended in many ways from the eponymous ancestors of their clan and sept, as is capable of mathematical demonstration. Allowing thirty-four years for a generation (the average number in Irish genealogies as determined by Dr. Eoin MacNeill) since the date of Owen's death in A.D. 465, we arrive at the figure of forty-three generations from the founder of the Clan Owen. Multiplying by two for each generation from the present one, to provide the necessary number of forebears, we reach the incredible number of nine trillion ancestors in the middle of the fifth century for each person now living. Seeing that the total population of a predominantly agricultural country like Ireland in early days could not have been more than a few hundred thousand at the most, all living Devlins must be descended from Owen, and from his progeny for many generations after his time, by an enormous multiplicity of derivations. The evidence for descent from Devlin, from whom the Devlins derive their patronymic, is practically quite as conclusive from a mathematical viewpoint, although the number of ancestors in the eleventh century when he lived - sixty-seven million - does not reach such an astronomical total as for the fifth century.¹⁰

When we go back a sufficient number of centuries the lineages of all

Irish families become inextricably enmeshed, because of the constant introduction of alien blood by the females of each generation. Since Devlin is represented in the genealogies as the father of a numerous issue, those who chose to commemorate him in their surname and who remained in that part of Ulster where he had lived, would have been connected with their eponym by an especially large number of descents, but it is obvious that, by this time, the Devlins must be descended, in one way or another, from practically all those of Devlin's contemporaries in Ireland who were founders of septs. The question as to the exact authenticity of tribal descents in the male line is, therefore, one of minor importance. The commonly held belief, in the clan days, that certain septs were so descended, and consequently so interrelated, was implicit in the clan system, and was in fact correct in substance, but not necessarily in detail. In the absence of such a belief, and of the genealogies on which it was based, the whole elaborate structure of Irish land tenure, of hereditary rights and privileges, as well as hereditary obligations to the heads of the clan and sept, would have been meaningless.

The term sept, as used in this book, refers to that division of a clan whose members possessed a common surname. For want of a better designation, after the time of the Confiscations the Devlins are referred to as a family, although it is evident that this word is a misnomer as applied to a body of several thousand individuals living in diverse parts of the world. Any blood relationship between their component divisions must now be extremely distant. It is only in their surname that they possess the reminder of a former common existence and of a common descent. On the other hand tribe, clan or sept, as applied to them, would be misleading, connoting as such terms do connection with a sort of political and social organization that has been long extinct.

It is somewhat arbitrarily that "sept" has been used for groups employing the same surname, since there is no uniformity of usage among Irish historians in this respect. "Clan" has been used for an aggregation of kindred septs, as the Clan Owen, which included the O'Neills, MacLoughlins, O'Devlins, O'Cahans, O'Donnellys, O'Mellons, MacCawells, and other septs who claimed descent from Owen. No attempt has been made, however, to employ specific designations for such intermediate divisions of the clan as the Descendants of MacErca or the Men of Drumleene. Of the above mentioned septs all except the MacCawells belonged to the former division, but only the O'Devlins and the O'Donnellys to the latter. Although differing in details, the history of any minor Clan Owen sept would probably give much the same general impression as that of the O'Devlins.

Above the clan there were other genealogical divisions, since kinship formed the basis for the whole system. The Descendants of Niall, for instance, included among others the Clan Owen, the Clan Conall and the Clan Colman. Such a division might be called a tribe; while the Progeny of Conn, which comprised tribes such as the Descendants of Niall, the Connachta and the Airghialla (Clan Colla), might be classed as a race. It would be desirable if some uniformity could be established in genealogical studies, at least for their description in English. There was no such uniformity in Irish, however, since clann, siol, etc., were used indiscriminately simply as indications of descent, the latter term being employed both for a group with a common surname, and also for an immense body such as the Progeny of Conn.

Some modern historians disapprove of the word "clan", for use in political histories of Ireland, as giving an erroneous impression of the ancient Irish political structure,¹¹ but in a book of a genealogical nature, such as this, its use has seemed preferable to terms like cenél, siól, or dál, which might appear as unnecessarily exotic to English-speaking readers who have been long accustomed to "clan" since it was popularized in the novels of Sir Walter Scott. Objection has also been made to "clan days" as descriptive of the Irish political and social organization abolished by the Confiscations, but whether we use this or some other expression, it is obvious that the regime established by the English with the Ulster Plantation differed greatly from that which preceded it. It should be noted, however, that the Irish "clan system" was distinguished in some respects from that pictured by the great Scottish novelist as prevailing in Scotland. In the latter country, for instance, retainers are said to have frequently assumed the surname of their political leader, although in fact unrelated to him by blood, so that large tracts of country in Scotland came to be peopled by those bearing the same patronymic. In Ireland, on the other hand, the inhabitants of even the smallest political units plainly showed the wide variety of their origins in their distinctive surnames.¹²

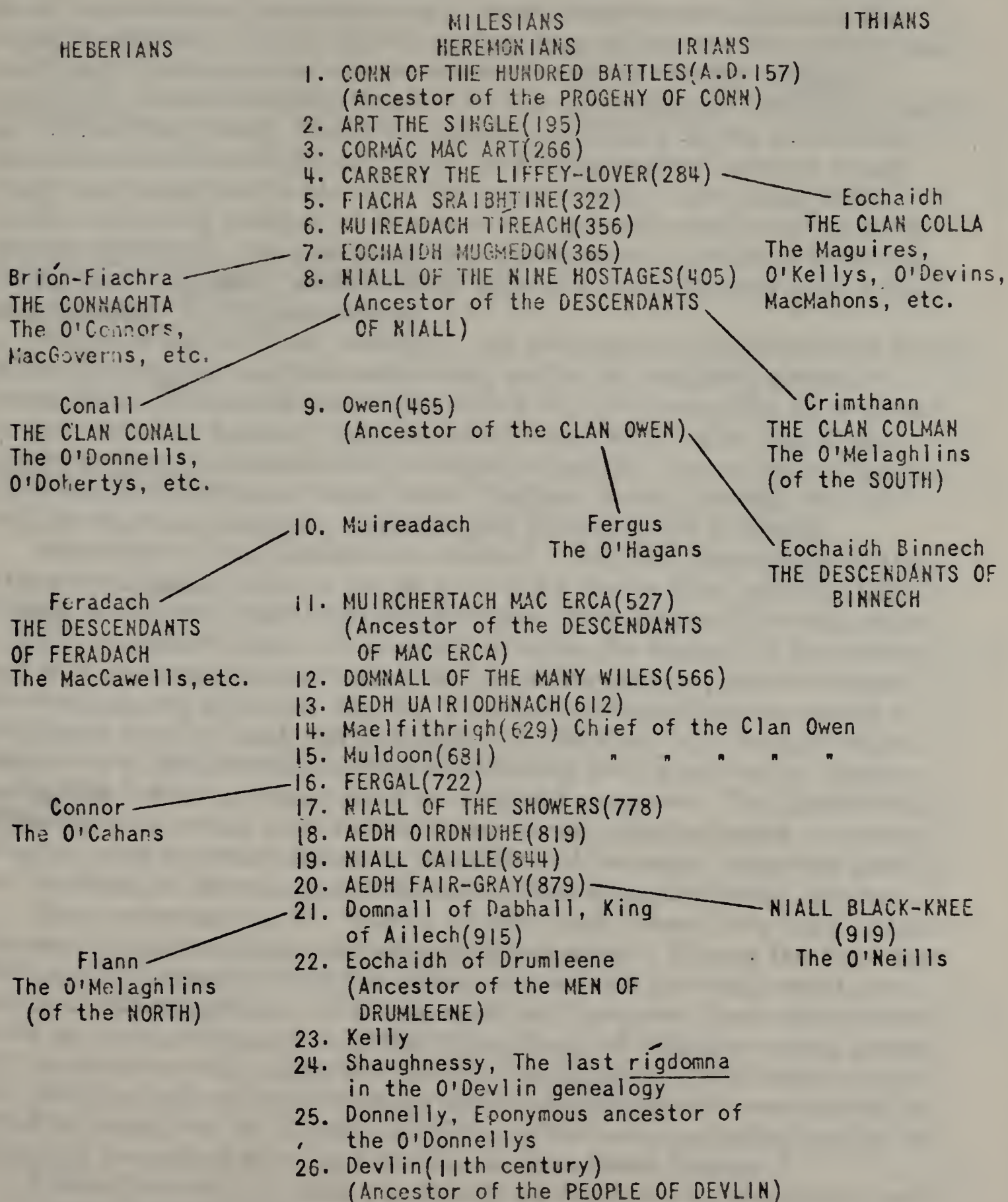
For various historical and phonetic reasons, as well as to make a distinction between the sept and the family in later times, in the first edition of this book the spelling O'Develin was used for the former and that of Devlin for the family after the extinction of the clan system. In this edition, for the sake of simplicity the spellings O'Devlin and Devlin have been used throughout, when speaking of the sept or family as a group, or in translations from the Irish, but in the case of individuals, when their names are written in English, their own spelling has been given.

Since the purpose has been to make this story readable, such matters have been placed in the notes and appendices as would interfere too much with the main narrative of events. For the same reason the most euphonious anglicizations of Irish personal and clan names as were available have been employed, and modern place-names have been used in describing ancient territories, so that any fairly large-scale map of modern Ireland should be sufficient for their identification and location.¹³

Collectively the three chapters of this book cover a period in excess of a millenium and a half. These fifteen centuries, in the life of the Devlins and their ancestors, are compounded of grandeur and prosperity, persecution and poverty. An effort has been made to preserve an objective viewpoint in this study of a typical Milesian sept, and to depict our ancestors as the record shows them to have lived. Although the origins of the Devlins were sufficiently exalted, there were some aspects of their later career that may not prove so pleasing to their descendants. The investigation of a family history extending over so many centuries, from the age of chariots to that of airplanes, from the days of bards to those of the radio, has a peculiar fascination, but in this case it has also its depressing features, since the histories of Milesian Irish families are invariably records of frustration, involving the long struggle of an outmoded culture to cope with modern conditions, the eventual downfall of the clans, the loss of their lands, and the impoverishment or exile of the clansmen. For two centuries they suffered a submergence that can be compared to the Babylonian captivity of the People of Israel, or to the Saxon subjugation after the Norman conquest

of England. Fortunately, however, the prospect brightens as we near the present day. Freed from the bonds of the clan system, and risen from the depressed state to which they had been reduced after the Confiscations, the Devlins, in common with other Milesian families, have accomplishments to their credit in many fields of achievement during recent times.

GENEALOGICAL CHART



Note: The high-kings (i.e. Kings of Erin) are in capitals. The dates of deaths are approximate to the second half of the seventh century. The MacLoughlins probably stem from Domnall of Dabhall, King of Ailech, but their genealogy is a matter of dispute.

CHAPTER I

THE ANTECEDENTS OF THE SEPT

In comparison with many Irish surnames that of Devlin, with its numerous variations, offers little difficulty with respect to its origin. Although other possible derivations are discussed in the notes and appendices, the evidence presented in this book indicates that those of this name, in whatever part of the world they may at present be located, can trace their ultimate descent from that People of Devlin (Muintir Doibhilén), known individually as O'Devlin (Ó Doibhilén), who lived under the rule of their chief, The O'Devlin, in a territory on the borders of what are now the counties of Tyrone and Londonderry, west of Lough Neagh and partly on its shores. The many Devlins now living in the modern electoral division of Munterevlin, an anglicization of the Irish Muintir Doibhilén, can look back to a continued occupation of that section of Ulster by their ancestors for nearly a thousand years, or during approximately thirty generations.

As evidenced by their surname, the O'Devlins claimed descent from Devlin (Doibhilén), an Irish noble who, so far as available evidence would show, lived in the eleventh century A.D. and was fifth in descent from Domnall of Dabhall, King of Ailech (died 915). The Clan Owen (Clann Eoghain), to which the O'Devlins belonged, was so called because of its members' descent from Owen (Eoghan) (died A.D.465), son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, High-king of Ireland (died A.D.405).

Although it is not intended to attempt a detailed description of the Irish genealogical system, nor to give more than a brief sketch of the history of the clan, the tribe, and the race of which the O'Devlins were a small component part, yet in order to write the history of the sept itself it is necessary to say something about its origins, since the existence of a group of people bearing the same surname and occupying a particular tract of land, carried with it in the clan days certain implications as to their descent, their land having been acquired by inheritance, and not by purchase after its original conquest. The claim of an O'Devlin to land was inherent in his surname, which attested a common descent, with the chief and other members of his sept, from that ancestor to whom the territory of Munterevlin had been originally allotted.

Such terms as "sept", "clan", "tribe", and "race", are used in this history in a genealogical and not a political sense. During the clan days these units comprised only the ruling classes and formed a small minority of the population. At the present day, however, their descendants make up a large proportion of the Irish people of Milesian stock, probable reasons for their selective survival being given in the third chapter. The political unit in Ireland comprised a community not necessarily related by blood;¹ as an instance only one of the seven principal nobles in O'Neill's council of state in 1394 was of Clan Owen lineage.²

Under Brehon Law such a territory as Munterevlin belonged to and was ruled by the sept in what might be called its corporate capacity, while most of the various pieces of land belonged individually and privately to fines or family groups.³ Some of the land was held in common for grazing purposes, or was "mensal" land of the ruling chief. Land was

inherited in three ways; by children from a parent; by gavelkind, when at the death of a member of a fine his land was divided among his immediate relatives, including collateral as well as direct heirs; by heritage, when at the death of a chief his "mensal" land went to his successor in the chieftainship.⁴

These features of Irish law serve to explain the interest taken in the preservation of genealogies among the clans. There was, of course, the additional motive of pride in the antiquity or distinction of their lineage, but practical considerations were the main inducements for compiling such detailed pedigrees and for employing professional genealogists whose office it was to see that they were kept up to date. This profession was generally hereditary, as in the case of the MacFirbis family. Giolla Íosa MacFirbis compiled the genealogies in The Book of Lecan at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and his successor, Duaid MacFirbis, was occupied with the same sort of work two hundred years later.⁵

The founder of the Clan Owen acquired his possessions in Ulster by conquest and not by inheritance and, as will be seen, much additional land was taken by his descendants in the same manner. Territory seized in this way was known as "sword-land". It was about A.D. 429, the year when the Vandals under Genseric invaded Africa, that Owen took forcible possession of the ancient stronghold of Ailech⁶, and made it the capital of a new kingdom comprising the peninsula of Inishowen, the northernmost tip of Ireland. Before proceeding however, with the story of Owen, and his descendants the Clan Owen, it will be necessary to discuss his antecedents, since his conquest of Inishowen can only be understood by a consideration of the position attained by his family, and by a relation of some previous events in northern Irish history.

Modern historians do not believe that the genealogies can be relied on, at least in detail, before the time of Conn of the Hundred Battles (second century A.D.), although they extend several milleniums beyond him to Adam.⁷ These stupendous pedigrees of the Irish kings and chiefs were the work of those professional genealogists of whom we have spoken. We can imagine that these genealogical specialists must have had considerable leisure time on their hands, that they were in the pay of rulers who derived great satisfaction from lengthy and glorious pedigrees, and that they were also impelled by that zeal for precision and uniformity which inspires all custodians of records, and particularly those of the genealogical variety. They frequently held meetings that constituted a sort of genealogical congress, and at these gatherings pedigrees from all the Irish clans were examined and compared. Their minds were obsessed with kinship, the basic fact in Irish life as they knew it. It was possible in their records to trace septs as the offshoots of clans, and the clans had branched off from tribes, and the latter from still larger divisions. What a pity it was that, in the same way, they could not show that all the ruling clans were simply offshoots of one great race, and that this race had a common ancestor from whom all, or at any rate the most important, could trace their descent. In this case the wish seems to have been father to the thought, so that several centuries before the Norman Invasion the genealogists had completed their fabrication of the story of Milesius and of his uncle Ith, the respective ancestors of the Milesians and of the Ithians. The three sons of Milesius (Heremon, Heber and Ir) were supposed to have come to Ireland at a remote date from Spain, and to have been the progenitors

of the three great races of the so-called Milesian system. The descendants of Ith, uncle of Milesius, are also said to have accompanied the three brothers to Ireland. Strictly speaking an Ithian surname, like O'Driscoll, is not Milesian, but in general parlance a Milesian name is one that is native Irish, being neither of Danish, Norman, Flemish, Welsh, Scottish, English, nor other foreign extraction, and it is in this sense that Milesian is used in this history.

Perhaps "fabricate" is too harsh a word to use in connection with this work of the genealogists, since they apparently had some foundation for their system in the written records that Professor Macalister shows must have existed in pagan days.⁸ The retention of the pagan gods in the genealogies, even if deprived of their divine attributes, is a sure indication that the genealogists had access to such records. Unless these names had been recorded in very ancient genealogies, such distasteful reminders of former pagan claims to divine descent would certainly not have been inserted during the Christian Era. Besides genealogies from pagan days, the human portions of which were probably more or less factual, the genealogists must also have possessed records of migrations in the "backward and abysm" of time that were perhaps the distorted reflections of real happenings. These they may have interwoven with such genealogical records as were available, and synchronized the results with world events as given by such Latin historians as Orosius, very much as we put order and logic in the often unconnected vagaries of dreams. They were offered an additional incentive in this effort, since it was only by qualifying as adepts in fitting stories and genealogies into a chronological system that they could rise to the first rank in their profession.

The zeal of the genealogists for inclusion was as great as that of the Brahmins in India for exclusion, but in spite of their most earnest endeavors a considerable number of the Irish clans, like the Firbolgs and the Gaians, remained outside the system. The Ithians were supposedly of sufficient importance to entitle them to a Milesian classification, but they seem to have been an especially unmanageable fragment of foreign substance, so that the only way in which the genealogists could contrive reasonably to include them in their scheme was through the founder of the race, and they were forced to go back several thousand years to make the connection.

Since the introduction of Christianity had led to a study of Biblical pedigrees, the Irish genealogists put a final pinnacle on their structure by extending the descent of Milesius to Adam. So we find an author of the last century, who seems to have had an unquestioning faith in the authenticity of the Milesian genealogies from the earliest times, gravely tracing his own descent through one hundred and twenty-five generations of kings, princes and patriarchs to the father of mankind himself.⁹

Of the four supposed Milesian races, the Heremonians were the most numerous and powerful. They were supreme in Connaught, Meath, Leinster, and in the greater part of Ulster, at the time when the genealogists had perfected their system. The genealogies of the Heremonians unite in Hugony the Great (Ugaine Mór), a Leinster king who reigned several centuries before the beginning of the Christian Era, according to one account about B.C.250, the period of the First Punic War. Through one of Hugony's sons, Lowry, the Leinster Heremonians were reputed to have descended, and the other son, Coffey, was claimed as

the ancestor of Conn of the Hundred Battles, a contemporary of the Antonine Emperors of Rome. There are some modern historians who believe that there may have been a foundation in fact for such a connection between the Heremonians of Leinster and the Progeny of Conn (Siól Cuinn). That the haughty Progeny of Conn should have admitted a remote kinship with those from whom for so many centuries they exacted, or attempted to exact, the Borumha Tribute, might be regarded as evidence of its authenticity, as it appears unlikely that such a relationship would have been acknowledged unless its validity had been regarded as unquestionable.

According to another theory, the ancestors of the Progeny of Conn arrived in Ireland, landing in Leinster, either in the first or second century B.C., i.e. sometime during the years from the fall of Carthage to the rise of Caesar, and from that province embarked on a career of conquest which made them successively masters in most of the western, central and northern parts of the island. They are believed to have been one of the tribes that brought the Gaelic language and culture to Ireland. Whatever may be the truth as to their origin, these remote ancestors of the Devlins are known to have been tall and fair, with long and flowing locks, in marked contrast to the short, dark race, with cropped hair, whom they found in possession of the country on their arrival. Because the original Gaelic conquerors were blonds, there existed for many centuries in Ireland a prepossession in favor of that complexion, as being supposedly a sign of aristocracy and of noble traits, while there was a corresponding prejudice against a dark complexion, which was believed to be indicative of a low origin and base character.¹⁰

The Heberians had their stronghold in Munster and were second only to the Heremonians in numbers and power. It was one of their kings, Brian Boru, that finally wrested the high-kingship from the Progeny of Conn, who had held it uninterruptedly nearly eight hundred years.

The Irians, who at one time held sway over the North, and successfully resisted the onslaught of the other "Four-fifths" of Ireland, as related in the epic of the Táin, were driven back into eastern Ulster by the Three Collas in the fourth century A.D., where they occupied territory which is now included in the counties of Down and Antrim. There were also scattered clans of the Irians in other parts of Ireland. They are thought by some authorities to have been of Pictish origin and the dominant race before the coming of the Gaels. The last and least important of the ancient races were the Ithians, who were confined to a small section of southern Munster.

Conn of the Hundred Battles is believed by some authorities to have been a real historical character, who was the Abraham of the most illustrious lineage in ancient Ireland, but others consider Conn's reputed grandson, Cormac mac Art (third century A.D.), as the first unquestionably historic figure in the genealogies.¹¹ For the purposes of this story it is immaterial which of the two we accept as our starting point, since the clans whose origins are here investigated did not branch from the main stem until after Cormac's time.

Whichever of these ancestors we may choose as genuine, it would not appear necessary, in writing the story of a minor Milesian sept, to examine at any length the question as to the authenticity of the genealogies that establish the common descent of those tribes that were included in the Progeny of Conn, nor of those clans that formed the Descendants

of Niall (Ui Neill). In the bibliography attached to this volume will be found the works of modern Irish historians that deal with this subject. It seems sufficient to observe that if no common ancestors of these tribes and clans were known, it would appear necessary to assume their existence in order to explain such relations between these units as those arising from the proportionate payments of the Borumha Tribute, exacted from Leinster, to tribes included in the Progeny of Conn (i.e. the Descendants of Niall in Meath and Ulster; the Connachta, who descended from Niall's brothers, and the Clan Colla); the alternating succession to the high-kingship for more than five hundred years among the Descendants of Niall (Northern and Southern, and among the former between the Clan Owen and the Clan Conall);¹² and the latent claims of the Connachta to this honor, which finally triumphed in the person of a Connaught king, Turlough O'Connor, after an exclusion of his branch of the Progeny of Conn from the high-kingship for nearly seven centuries.

If the genealogies from the reign of Conn of the Hundred Battles, or at least from that of Cormac mac Art, are believed by most authorities to be generally correct, they are at times defective and even contain spurious interpolations¹³ such as those that were made in the Roll of Battle Abbey to supply an ancestor from the train of William the Conqueror for the parvenus of mediaeval England.¹⁴ Such interpolations in the Milesian genealogies are, however, usually easy to detect. Some of them have been inserted in fairly recent times for the benefit of Gaelic-speaking Scottish clans. The genealogies are an indispensable guide for the study of Irish clan history, but they frequently need the interpretation of an expert. Fortunately the author has been well supplied with such assistance.

The particular pedigree of Devlin, the eponymous ancestor, happens to be one of the easiest to trace and the least subject to doubt among the Milesian genealogies, because his lineage through the Kings of Ailech is attested not only by an unbroken line of descent, but numerous references are made to all his royal progenitors by the Irish annalists. Moreover his branch leaves the main stem at a comparatively late date, the tenth century, and all succeeding generations down to Devlin are recorded and vouched for, among other authorities, by one of the Four Masters, who assisted in the compilation of the famous annals of that name, and was an Ulsterman and an authority on Ulster genealogies.

According to the Irish annals, Conn of the Hundred Battles, and his successors for four generations, reigned at Tara in Meath, which seems to have been a recent acquisition, since the homeland of their dynasty was in Connaught, where the earliest ancestors of the Devlins concerning whom we have any certain knowledge had lived for uncounted centuries. It was in the fifth generation that some of Conn's descendants established the Clan Colla in Ulster, and not until the ninth generation from Conn, about a century after the invasion of Ulster by the Collas, that the second branch of Conn's descendants, represented by three sons of Niall of the Nine Hostages, entered that province. Carbery the Liffey-lover (supposedly so-called from some connection with the Liffey River on which Dublin now stands) Conn's great-grandson and a contemporary of the Roman Emperor Aurelian, was the common ancestor of these kindred tribes. Although it seems reasonable to suppose that the broad outlines of these migrations to the north are correct, as narrated by the annalists, no guarantee can be given as to even the

approximate exactitude of the romantic story of the Three Collas. This tale is rather of interest for the picture that it gives of early Irish life, and for the insight that it affords into the customs and superstitions of that age, than for any claims it may have to literal truth. This period of Irish history remains in a sort of twilight. That we are dealing with historical characters the general agreement of the annalists attests and, in fact, such discrepancies as occur in their relations of events might tend to show that they had derived their information from independent sources. The genealogies dating from this time are believed to be authentic because for practical purposes connected with the payments of tribute and the ownership of land they were periodically scrutinized and verified, but no such check was imposed on the stories that might be told about the kings and princes of that era. The high-kings of the preceding century figure in the cycle of Fenian sagas, which resemble the stories about Charlemagne and his paladins, and this tendency to embroider the prosaic facts of history appears to have also prevailed in the time of the Collas, during the fourth century.

The story starts in pagan times. In The Annals of the Four Masters for the year A.D. 276, the ninth of the reign of Carbery the Liffey-lover, the only event recorded is the killing of Angus of the Dread Spear by the two sons of the high-king, Fiacha and Eochaidh (pronounced Yohee). In The Annals of Clonmacnoise it is said that this was an act of revenge on this "valiant champion, nephew of the King of Leinster", for "killing 2 base sons of K. Cormack and putting his eye out." (The spelling is that of the annals as it appears in MacGeoghegan's translation of 1627). The king to whom reference is made was Cormac mac Art, father of Carbery the Liffey-lover, who resigned the throne to his son after losing his eye, because the ancient Irish custom did not permit a monarch with such a blemish to rule, on account of a pagan religious taboo. Cormac mac Art was undoubtedly one of the greatest and most enlightened kings that ever reigned in Tara, but he seems to have suffered much from injuries for which his descendants exacted a bloody retribution. As we shall see later, some of the results of this vengeance were extremely profitable in themselves, altogether apart from the satisfaction derived by members of his family from the vindication of their ancestor's honor.¹⁵

The princes who avenged their grandfather's injury were the ancestors of the two branches of the Progeny of Conn in Ulster. From Fiacha, a contemporary of the Roman Emperor Diocletian, were descended Niall of the Nine Hostages, his son Owen, founder of the Clan Owen, and eventually the O'Devlins and the O'Neills. Eochaidh was the ancestor of the Clan Colla, or Airghialla, which included among other septs the Maguires, of whom we shall hear more in the course of this history.

Eochaidh is said by some historians to have been the elder son of Carbery the Liffey-lover, although this statement is questioned by others.¹⁶ However this may have been, it was his brother Fiacha who was elected High-king of Ireland while, as The Book of Leinster states: "Eochaidh received no portion of Ireland for himself." Even if Fiacha was the younger brother, he might very well have been chosen king in preference to Eochaidh, since kings were elected in Ireland from among the close relatives of a deceased monarch, collateral as well as direct, extending to, but not beyond, the generation of great-grand-children. The law of primogeniture was unknown in Ireland until

introduced by the Normans in the twelfth century. The Irish custom may have had a tendency to advance the most capable member of a family to the throne, but it had the disadvantage of producing endless wars of succession. Ancient Irish history is full of the rebellions of ambitious princes, to whom the title ríghdomna (king material) was applied, if they were comprised within the requisite degrees of kinship to make them eligible for election to the throne.¹⁷

As so often happened in those days Eochaidh's sons, known as the Three Collas, rebelled against their uncle the high-king. In The Life of St. Molasius it is said that the Collas were in command of a portion of Fiacha's troops when they received word that their cousin Muireadach, the high-king's son, was returning from a victorious campaign with the "pledges" of the King of Munster. They said to each other: "What shall we do? Fiacha has the kingdom actually and the general say 'tis his son shall be king after him. Here is the best of our play. Before Muireadach arrives let us give this old king battle."

It is recorded in The Annals of the Four Masters that, before the battle in which he lost his life, Fiacha was told by a druid that he had one of two choices, either to win the battle, in which case he would retain the monarchy for his own lifetime, but the heirs of the Collas would hold it in future ages, or to lose the battle and his life and secure the high-kingship for his descendants. Fiacha is said to have chosen death for himself and the monarchy for his posterity, so he "cast himself into the thickest of the fight and found the death he desired."¹⁸ This story may very well have originated long after the event, but it is a fact that, while the Clan Colla remained provincial kings in Ulster, the high-kingship was retained by the offspring of Fiacha for nearly nine hundred years, and it was one of his descendants, Rory O'Connor, who was High-king of Ireland at the time of the Norman Invasion in the twelfth century. Even as late as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the last great native leaders, Shane O'Neill, Hugh O'Neill (Earl of Tyrone), Red Hugh O'Donnell, Rory O'Donnell (Earl of Tyrconnell), Sir Phelim O'Neill and Owen Roe O'Neill, were members of Fiacha's race.

After their uncle's death, the eldest of the Collas seized the kingship, but only reigned four years when he was dethroned by Muireadach, Fiacha's son, and with his brothers and their followers driven into exile. The Three Collas took refuge in Scotland, of which country their mother was a native. The story tells of the Collas' belief that they had incurred a curse for themselves and their posterity as a result of their uncle's death, and that the only way to remove this curse would be by contriving to have themselves killed by their cousin the high-king, in which case the monarchy would again revert to the succession of their children. Whatever may be the truth of this tale, the sentiments that it expresses are characteristic of the ancient Irish system of geasa or taboos, in pagan times. The murder of a close relative entailed a curse producing disaster for the murderer and his family.

The Collas resolved on a return to Ireland and appeared at their cousin's court. Muireadach questioned them: "Have you brought me any news, my cousins?" "We have no sadder news to tell," they replied, "than the deed which we ourselves have done, namely, the killing of thy father by our hands." "That is news we have already known," said the king, "but it is of no consequence to you now, for no vengeance shall be wreaked upon you therefor, except that the misfortune which

has already pursued you, shall not leave you." "This is the reply of a coward," said the Collas. "Be not sorry for it," replied the king, "you are welcome."¹⁹

So, in spite of their rebellion, and their guilt in killing his father, Muireadach treated the Collas well and gave them positions of honor. After a short stay at the court of the high-king, the Collas represented to their cousin that, although they were at peace with him, after their deaths their children would probably be engaged in wars of succession. They therefore proposed that, with his assistance, they should gain a "sword land" for themselves. The high-king approved of this project, and it was decided to attack the Irian King of Emania, in Ulster, because there had been bad blood between the Progeny of Conn and the Irians ever since the time of the Collas' great-grandfather, Cormac mac Art, to whom the Irians had offered the unforgivable affront of setting fire to his beard at a banquet, probably taking advantage of the monarch's unguarded condition after a carousal during which the ale had been circulating freely. Cormac's descendants had neither forgotten nor forgiven this insult, consequently the Three Collas, assisted by their cousin and by their relatives in Connaught, attacked the Irian king, killed him in battle and routed his army, burned his famous palace of Emania, headquarters of the Red Branch warriors, and having driven the Irians back into eastern Ulster, established the Clan Colla kingdom of Oriel in former Irian territory. These events are supposed to have occurred in the year A.D.331, at which time Constantine the Great was Roman Emperor.

It may be said in favor of the general authenticity of this story about the Conquest of Emania that, in some way or other, that kingdom was undoubtedly subverted, and this tale provides a plausible explanation as to the source of the considerable power which must have been needed to deprive the Irians of their long maintained supremacy in Ulster. It also accounts for the use of this power by ascribing its employment to the immemorial policy among Irish clans of providing separate appanages (either by gift or conquest) for kinsmen who might, failing such compensation, become dangerous competitors for the kingship.

The posterity of the "battle-valiant" Collas formed the Clan Colla. In recognition of kinship, The Book of Rights (p.143) states that the Clan Colla king sat by the side of the High-king of Ireland, as customary at the length of hand and sword, and received from that monarch's cup-bearer a specified number of alehorns. The Clan Colla kings also received their proportion of the Borumha Tribute, paid to Conn's race by the Kings of Leinster. This tribute was said to have been first imposed by Tuathal Teachtmair, a king of the first century A.D., grandfather of Conn of the Hundred Battles. It caused centuries of warfare between Conn's descendants and "Leinster of the Tribute". Regular attempts to collect it were made until the end of the seventh century, when it was temporarily remitted as a result of St. Moling's solicitations. After that time a few sporadic efforts were made to levy this toll, which for more than five centuries had involved Ireland in unproductive carnage.²⁰

Speaking of the Clan Colla, Dr. Douglas Hyde says: "So powerful did the idea of race connection remain that we find one of the bards as late as the sixteenth century urging a political combination between the descendants of the Three Collas who had burned Emania twelve hundred years before and who were then represented by the Maguires of

Fermanagh, the MacMahons of Oriel and the far off O'Kellys of Hy Many."²¹ If racial attachments were powerful, so were racial hatreds. Professor Curtis says: "So tenacious was the Irish tradition that still most of the Gaelic stock lived in the thought of five centuries gone. Till Elizabeth's reign their chiefs fought over quarrels older than the Conquest."²² Dr. Hyde points out that as late as 1260, the date of the Battle of Downpatrick, the Irians would not join the Clan Colla in resisting the Norman invaders, but held sullenly aloof, giving no assistance against the foreigners, on account of the burning of Emania and the expulsion from their capital in the fourth century. There were undoubtedly more recent matters of dispute that served to keep this vendetta alive, but its remote origins may perhaps be found even before the age of the Three Collas in the wars of the Táin during the first century B.C., when the Irians of Ulster were arrayed against the rest of Ireland.

Although some descendants of Fiacha and of Eochaidh, as in the case of the O'Devlins and the Maguires, engaged in intermittent hostilities during many centuries, they seem, nevertheless, to have remained conscious of their remote affinity until the end of the clan system. They often combined for resistance against outside aggression and, as will be seen later, septs of the Clan Colla are found in permanent alliance with those of the Clan Owen and of the Clan Conall.

In dealing with the antecedents of the Devlins we now pass from the dawn era of Irish history, in which allowance must be made for probable exaggerations, distortions and omissions, to a period in which we find the annals astonishingly and minutely accurate in certain readily verifiable particulars. One of the best proofs of their veracity is found in the exactitude with which they record such natural phenomena as comets and eclipses. Between the fifth and ninth centuries The Annals of Ulster, for example, give eighteen instances of such occurrences. Modern science enables us to reckon backward from the present day in order to determine the time when such phenomena must have been visible. As a result of this investigation we learn that The Annals of Ulster are not only correct as to the year of these occurrences, but sometimes give the exact day and even the hour. If the annalists are so reliable from the fifth century onwards, about matters of which we have a precise check on their veracity, it would appear that we may also in general rely on those of their statements concerning which we have no external means of verification.²³ This does not mean that from the fifth century the annals are free from errors. In fact the annalists at times admit their uncertainty as to the exact dates of the happenings that they record, but from that era their narrative is, in general, a factual and prosaic account of events.

For nearly a century after the establishment of the Clan Colla in Ulster, the descendants of Fiacha continued to reign as Kings of Tara in Meath, and as High-kings of Ireland. The latter was a title somewhat resembling that of Holy Roman Emperor. While embodying traditions of honor and of formal precedence, it did not of itself imply actual jurisdiction in the territories of the provincial kings, whom we frequently find engaged in successful warfare against their titular superiors. But under great monarchs like Cormac mac Art, Niall of the Nine Hostages or Muirchertach mac Erca, the high-kingship attained real power and Tara was at the acme of its splendor. Cormac mac Art is said to have built the vast banqueting hall, capable of accomodating a thousand guests,

whose outline can still be traced on the hill of Tara. Its dimensions, seven hundred and fifty by ninety feet, are stated by Padraic Colum, in his Cross Roads in Ireland (p.20) to be greater than those of any building now standing in Ireland. When the periodical gatherings of the provincial kings were held in this colossal hall, with all the dazzling effect produced by rich garments and sparkling jewels, life at Tara must have been colorful and inspiring beyond anything experienced in Ireland before or since that time.

The great-grandson of Fiacha was Niall of the Nine Hostages (A.D. 379-405), so-called because of the number of kingdoms from which he exacted these securities of submission. Niall's valor and his blond complexion (deep blue eyes and primrose-yellow hair) were both praised as characteristic traits of his race. He is said to have extended his military expeditions to Britain, and even to Gaul, where he may have fought against the Romans, whose empire was at that time in the throes of dissolution. It was shortly after Niall's death that the Emperor Honorius, hard pressed by the barbarians, and forced by them to move his seat of government from Rome to Ravenna, was finally compelled to withdraw his legions from Britain, which was left exposed to Saxon invaders.

Under Niall's strong rule the Tara dynasty had so increased its power that its members were established as provincial kings in other parts of Ireland. At the time of Niall's death his brothers Bríón and Fiachra (ancestors of the Connachta), reigned in Connaught, the original home of their race, and later, about A.D.429, his sons (Owen, Conall and Énna) penetrated into northwestern Ulster, where they founded the kingdom of Ailech.²⁴ St. Patrick was then preaching the gospel in Ireland and Attila was extending his conquests on the Continent.

The annalists do not give the same detailed or romantic account concerning the acquisition of this "sword-land" by Niall's sons as they do of the conquest of Emania by the other branch of Conn's descendants. Perhaps the reason for this distinction may have been that Emania was so famous, both historically and culturally, that its fall was a dramatic event of the first importance, while the occupation of a tract of land so remote from the centers of Irish civilization as was the territory comprised in the present county of Donegal during those times, was not likely to impress the imagination to the same extent. We do not even know, concerning this section of Ulster, whether it had been formerly a part of the Kingdom of Emania or not, since its inhabitants are believed to have been mainly of Firbolg, not Irian, descent. It was easy to reach by the coast route from Connaught, where the uncles of the conquerors were already established, and had probably not yet been occupied in force by the Clan Colla, whose headquarters lay far to the southeast.

We may obtain an idea of what such an invasion as that of Owen and his brothers into northwestern Ulster was like, and of the reasons for making it, from an account of a nearly contemporary trek made by a body of the Clan Colla into southern Connaught. In The Life of St. Grellan²⁵ it is stated that the leaders of this expedition reasoned:

"Numerous are our heroes and great is our population, our tribe having multiplied, and we cannot find room in any one province without quarreling among ourselves, for nobles cannot well bear to be confined. Let us see which province of Banba²⁶ is the thinnest of population and in which most Firbolgs remain and let us narrow it on them." Since the

Firbolgs were not Milesians they were regarded as fair game by these freebooters. Having selected what is now the county of Galway²⁷ as their goal, "these fine hosts suddenly and heroically proceeded in well arranged battalions with their flocks and herds" into Connaught.

Although in the passage quoted overpopulation is spoken of in fifth-century Ireland, this seems to have been merely a case of too great a concentration of restless spirits in the same area. It will be noticed that the proposal is to "narrow" the territory of the Firbolgs, but not to drive them out, much less to exterminate them. There must have been a considerable area of sparsely populated land in those days that was suitable for grazing. Wars for its possession probably resembled those between the "cattle barons" of the American West and the settlers who had been on the open range before the coming of the large ranchers. Even as late as the tenth century, five hundred years after its conquest, the Clan Owen and the Clan Conall occupied no more than a portion of the kingdom of Ailech. Within its boundaries there were eight free states, whose kings were descendants of Niall of the Nine Hostages, but there were at that time also nine tributary states, enjoying a very considerable autonomy, whose kings were not of the same stock, most of them being of Clan Colla lineage. Since the Clan Colla kings were kinsmen of the conquerors, they were treated with more consideration than that accorded to the Firbolgs in Donegal.²⁸

Owen, the eponymous ancestor of the clan that bore his name, established his capital at Ailech, in the peninsula of Inishowen, where its ruins may still be seen about five miles northwest of the city of Londonderry. The title, King of Ailech, assumed by Owen's descendants, was undoubtedly selected because of the prestige attached to this seat of northern power, a fortress built in prehistoric times that long antedated the coming of Owen. According to The Book of Rights (p.127), the King of Ailech, when he was not high-king, was entitled to sit by the "King of Éire at treaties and assemblies and councils and supplications, and he is entitled to receive from the King of Éire fifty swords, fifty shields, fifty bondsmen, fifty dresses and fifty steeds."

Ailech still ranks as one of the principal historical monuments of ancient Ireland. Its modern name is Greenan-Ely, an anglicization of Irish words meaning "palace of Ailech". Situated on a hill 800 feet high, the ruins of this great stronghold overlook Lough Swilly, Lough Foyle, and a wide extent of that picturesque Donegal countryside which was so familiar a sight to the Devlins' ancestors during the centuries when this was their residence. Greenan-Ely's central enclosure is seventy-seven feet in diameter, and is surrounded by a wall of uncemented stone with hidden galleries and passages to secret entrances. The whole hill is encompassed by circles of ramparts with broad spaces for encampments.²⁹

It was at Ailech that St. Patrick is said to have converted Owen to Christianity, during his missionary journey to Ulster in A.D.441. The story is told that in the course of the conversion ceremony the saint inadvertently pierced Owen's foot with the sharp point of his episcopal crozier. The pagan king is stated to have made no protest, supposing this action to be a part of the ceremonies of initiation into the new religion. Owen is said to have been tall, his face "glowing with hospitality", and having "the disposition of a king, the courage of a hero, and the agility of a lion."³⁰

Owen died at a ripe old age in 465. The Annals of the Four Masters say that his death was hastened by grief for that of his brother Conall, for whom he had a warm affection, and further state that he was buried at Eskaheen, near Londonderry, in Inishowen. John O'Donovan, however, says that in his time their remained neither trace nor memory of Owen's grave, and only vestiges of the chapel that was there formerly.

Muireadach, son of Owen, seems to have been little more than a connecting link between his famous father and his still more illustrious son. The Annals of Ulster speak of him in four places, but only in connection with the pedigrees of his descendants. It was the son of Muireadach, Muirchertach mac Erca, who raised the kings of the Clan Owen from a provincial status and asserted their right to the high-kingship of Ireland. From the days of Muirchertach, for nearly six centuries, there were high-kings of his blood, until the extinction of the high-kingship itself after the coming of the Normans.

The annalists claim that Muirchertach mac Erca³¹ took his name from his mother, a Scottish princess,³² but a modern historian (A. S. Green) believes that this metronymic (apparently an archaic survival from those earlier days in Ireland when descent was reckoned through females) was adopted because he was dedicated to, and probably claimed descent from, the goddess Erc. If such was the case Muirchertach must have reverted to the pagan religion of his ancestors. Whatever may be the truth in this particular instance, during pagan days in Ireland many of the ruling houses claimed a divine origin, as did some Roman patrician families such as the gens of Julius Caesar, which was said to have descended from the goddess Venus.³³ In like manner the Devlins trace their lineage to the Irish god Nuadu of the Silver Hand, who figures in the ancestry of the Progeny of Conn, to which they belonged. The worship of Nuadu was common both to pagan Ireland and to Britain, before the introduction of Christianity. He was king of the divine race, the Tuatha Dé Danann, which according to Irish antiquarians became the fairies or "good people" of Irish legend, and were reduced in stature by popular imagination to beings no more than a few spans in height, after they had ceased to be objects of worship. As an exception, the banshees are spoken of as fairy women of ordinary human size, shapely form and blond complexion, with long silken tresses and blue eyes. This conception of the banshee's appearance seems to have conformed to that racial ideal regarded as appropriate for supernatural beings so intimately associated with the Milesian aristocracy.

Pagan claims to a descent from the Irish gods were naturally viewed with hostility by the Christian clergy. Although the names of the gods were often retained in the genealogies, they are represented as human, and references to their divine nature have been generally omitted.³⁴ Thus in the genealogy of the Progeny of Conn, Nuadu appears as a link in the chain of generations connecting Conn with Adam, although the god himself was probably the ancestor in whom the lineage originally terminated.³⁵ In the case of those pagan memorials to the dead known as ogham stones, on which a god appears as the ancestor of the deceased, the god's name has in some instances been effaced by a scandalized Christian, or the stone has occasionally been reversed, so that the obnoxious part of the pedigree is buried in the ground.³⁶

Muirchertach mac Erca is an important figure in the history of the Clan Owen, and also in that of the O'Devlins, since they belonged to that

division of the clan which was named from him the Descendants of Mac Erca (Cenél maic Erca).³⁷ An Irish historian of the present day, Alice Stopford Green, who is distinguished both for her learning and for the charm of her style, gives the following account of Muirchertach's reign and of its significance in Irish history.³⁸

"The Battle of Ocha³⁹ (A.D.483), a 'war' begun to secure a ríghdomna from falling out of the line of succession, was in fact a decisive event in the high-kingship of Ireland. Muirchertach mac Erca of the northern Uí Neill, King of Ailech, did not belong to the same derbfine⁴⁰ as the reigning monarch Ailill Molt of the Connachta. He was ríghdomna by inheritance from his great-grandfather Niall, but neither his father nor his grandfather had held the high-kingship, and if he himself failed to secure it all legal claims of northern Uí Neill must end. The most daring and active warrior of his time, Muirchertach determined before it was too late to secure the succession against the Connachta. He made alliance with one of his derbfine, Luguid . . . and other chiefs . . . They threw their joint forces together. . . . in the battle at Ocha, near the great fort of Tara, where Ailill Molt, 'the high terrible' was vanquished and slain.⁴¹

"From the day when Ailill Molt fell the primacy among Irish rulers passed to the immediate family of Niall, and after him no king of the Connachta ruled at Tara for six hundred years. Lawful succession to the high-kingship was secured to the direct posterity of Niall of the Nine Hostages, whose descendants now united to form a separate and independent dynasty . . . The Uí Neill indeed, having secured sole succession at Tara, sought to cover in oblivion all connection with the house of the Connachta, now falling to the rank of under-kings; and gradually disguised their descent by dropping out of their genealogies the word Connachta, and using in its place the term Dál Cuinn⁴² (really a synonym) to describe the ancestors of their race.

"The famous champion Muirchertach mac Erca, first of the northern Uí Neill at Tara, was probably a heathen, as the name would show - dedicated to the goddess Erca.⁴³ Ireland already knew the fame of his wars. 'War-rock of mastery-full twenty battles and two he won without sorrow' . . . On account of his stormy life he was said to have had for his paramour Sín (tempest) who at last set fire to his house. He was drowned in wine, and also burned - perhaps an allegorical way of recording the unheroic fact that his banqueting house took fire in the midst of a carouse, and a storm made it impossible to quench the fire. Another tale attributes his end to the vengeance of a woman of the ancient race about Tara for the slaughter of her family by Muirchertach at the battle of Ath-Sige on the Boyne. There by the river she set fire to his house of Cleitech, so that he, casting himself from the flames into a vat of wine 'was killed and drowned and burned together' on that night of Samain, while the woman sang of her triumph: 'I am Taetan, the woman who killed the chief of Niall!'"⁴⁴

Collaterally related to the O'Devlins, and to other septs descended from Muirchertach mac Erca, was his cousin Columcille, or St. Columba, who ranks second only to St. Patrick among Irish saints in the affection of Irishmen.⁴⁵ Of him the author previously quoted says:⁴⁶ "In Columcille's childhood his kinsman Muirchertach mac Erca reigned in Ireland (503-527) - the first ardrí [high-king] from the northern Uí Neill. A prince of the supreme royal line, heir of a proud tradition, Columcille

had inherited from this honored race the bearing of a great prince, with his lofty stature, his face changing with every emotion, illuminated and shining as that of an angel, the resounding voice and the sight and hearing so miraculously keen reported of generations of his house, and an eloquence of speech and wisdom in council which marked him as a leader of men. Fellow-countrymen recognized the high aristocrat in his vehemence, his passion, his stately generosity and his enormous pride. They held it no blame to him to be reputed more lavish to the bards than any other saint in Ireland. 'There hath not nor will be born,' was the legend, 'save in the person of Christ, one that hath excelled him in largesse or hath been more tender in his honour than he.' A scholar of the best Irish masters in Druid and Christian lore, a scribe and poet, and the most farsighted political thinker of his time, he was by training as well as birth fitted to be a counsellor of his nation."

Another relative of Muirchertach mac Erca, first cousin on the maternal side, was St. Carnech, a contemporary of St. Benedict, founder of the Benedictine order. St. Carnech was patron saint of the Men of Drumleene (Fir Droma Lighean) from whom the O'Devlins descended, and abbot of Clonleigh, a monastery famous in its day as a center of learning, formerly situated near the modern town of Lifford, in Donegal. It was appropriate that when this territory was assigned in the tenth century as an appanage to Eochaidh of Drumleene, a remote kinsman associated with the vicinity, whose memory was held locally in veneration, should have been chosen as patron saint by this branch of the royal house of Ailech.⁴⁷ Since the mere lapse of time does not affect relations that are by their nature eternal, it would appear that the modern representatives of the Men of Drumleene - the Devlins and the Donnellyys - continue to enjoy the patronage of St. Carnech.

It was not until several centuries after the time of Muirchertach mac Erca that surnames were adopted in Ireland, since no eponymous ancestor of a sept is recorded as having lived earlier than the ninth century.⁴⁸ The prefix Mac, preceding Milesian names, means "son of", and Ó means "grandson or descendant of", the anglicized O' being due to the mistaken notion that Ó stands for "of". A name formed with O' is always genuine Milesian, since there is said to be no recorded instance in Ireland of this prefix being adopted by any foreign family. Mac, on the other hand, is not only the regular prefix used by Scottish families of Gaelic descent, but was also employed by the Normans in Ireland when they gave their surnames an Irish form.⁴⁹ The practice of forming surnames with O' had almost certainly ceased before the coming of the Normans to Ireland in the latter part of the twelfth century,⁵⁰ so that its presence in an Irish patronymic is a sure sign of antiquity, although by no means necessarily indicating high rank, as some have supposed. Many of the oldest and most eminent families used Mac, while the O' often appears in the surnames of minor septs.

Mac Erca, as appended to Muirchertach, was not a surname, but a personal appellation not used individually by that monarch's descendants. Before the adoption of surnames the individuals in a clan were often distinguished by nicknames, and were further identified by a brief recital of their pedigrees for several generations. Even after the use of surnames had become universal, we find the pages of the annals full of such designations as Eochaidh the Rough, Muireadach Red-neck, Conan the Swearer and Rory the Swarthy, followed by genealogical

details. Before the period when surnames were assumed, divisions of clans were known collectively by the names of subsidiary ancestors, as the Descendants of MacErcá, Binnech, Feradach, etc., or sometimes they are distinguished by their location, as the Men of Drumleene, but these designations are not surnames. It was not until the period between the tenth and twelfth centuries, when the clans had split into still smaller bodies, the septs, that the latter employed the names of their eponymous ancestors in regular patronymics. It should be noted that the introduction of surnames, a gradual process extending over several centuries, did not represent a break in the old order and was not regarded by the annalists as in any way marking the inauguration of a new era. The use of such a patronymic as O'Devlin, for instance, simply provided a shorter and more precise means of genealogical identification than that previously used.

Most of the septs in that part of Tyrone where the land of the O'Devlins was situated belonged to the Descendants of MacErcá. To the north, in what is now the county of Londonderry, were the Descendants of Binnech (Cenél mBinnig), whose eponymous ancestor was an uncle of Muirchertach mac Ercá. To the south and west of the territory occupied by the Descendants of MacErcá, in the neighborhood of the modern town of Clogher, was the land of the Descendants of Feradach (Cenél Feradaig),⁵¹ whose progenitor was a brother of Muirchertach. These were the three principal divisions of the Clan Owen, and of these the most powerful were the Descendants of MacErcá, from whom later stemmed the royal septs, O'Neills and MacLoughlins. A relationship to Muirchertach mac Ercá, preferably by direct descent, but at least from a near collateral relative of his, was a prerequisite for the larger landholders in what are now the counties of Tyrone and Londonderry, in the later clan days.⁵² It was on account of their relationship to the rulers of the clan that the O'Devlins received Munterevlin, and this policy of nepotism was continued up to the time of the dissolution of the clan system.⁵³

In early days the Descendants of MacErcá are referred to as a group whose kings were eligible to be high-kings of Ireland, but with the growth in numbers of its component septs, and a centralization of authority in the hands of the O'Neills and the MacLoughlins, the Descendants of MacErcá ceased to be a political unit, and after the ninth century was no more than a designation used for genealogical identification. In the year 629, The Annals of Ulster speak of a battle which was fought between the Descendants of MacErcá and the Descendants of Feradach. In the same annals there are three entries during the eighth century, and one in the ninth, recording the deaths of their kings.

After the death of Muirchertach mac Ercá his two sons, Domnall of the Many Wiles and Fergus, were elected to the high-kingship and reigned jointly from 565. Such joint reigns represented a solution for rival claims to kingship. Domnall, ancestor of the O'Devlins, was almost as famous a warrior as his father. The Annals of Ulster record the names of six battles in which he and his brother were victorious. Both brothers are said to have died of the plague on the same day.

There are ten generations from Domnall of the Many Wiles to Eochaidh of Drumleene, son of Domnall of Dabhall, King of Ailech. During this period the O'Devlin descent extends through the line of Clan Owen kings, six of whom were High-kings of Ireland. Those desirous of

more information about the lives of these monarchs may find in the Irish annals the most detailed accounts of their many and, for the average reader, confusing wars. Like the rulers in other European countries during that time, they were largely men who lived with sword in hand, and several in the line of descent are recorded as having perished in battle. In those days Irish kings were elected from the royal stock especially for their martial qualities and they personally led their armies, so that few of them survived a severe defeat. Among the O'Devlin ancestors, contemporaries of Mohammed and the Merovingian kings, were two chiefs of the Clan Owen, father and son, and a grandson who was high-king, that were all successively slain in battle.⁵⁴

The causes for, and the results of, these wars of the Clan Owen kings are proper subjects of investigation by the general historian, but such an inquiry would lead us too far afield in this attempt to disentangle the story of a minor Ulster sept from the chaotic history of Ireland during the clan days. It is not until the thirteenth century, more than eight hundred years after the establishment of the Clan Owen in Ulster, that we find the first unmistakable reference to the O'Devlins of Tyrone in The Lament for O'Neill by the Clan Owen bard MacNamee. It would not appear necessary to give more than a brief outline of the clan's history during this period, extending as it does from a time when the Roman legions were still in Britain, against whom Owen, the founder of the clan, may very well have fought in his father's British campaigns, to the reign of Henry III of England. Owen was a contemporary of the Emperor Theodosius, and his grandson Muirchertach mac Erca flourished in the time of Justinian and Clovis, whereas we do not hear of the O'Devlins until some forty years after the signing of Magna Carta.

Before recording some of the more important events in the history of the Clan Owen it may be advisable to make a few preliminary remarks about its territorial boundaries, as well as to say something concerning the general nature of the wars in which it engaged. If it may appear that an undue consideration is given to the wars of the clan, it should be remembered that epochs of peace were not ordinarily so eventful or so dramatic as to receive much attention by the Irish annalists, and it should also be considered that of all the Irish provinces Ulster was the most prolific of wars. There is an old saying that gives the distinguishing characteristics of Connaught, Ulster, Leinster, Munster and Meath: "Knowledge in the West, Battle in the North, Prosperity in the East, Music in the South, Kingship in the Center," and another that says: "Her battles also, and her contentions, her hardihood, her rough places, her strifes, her unprofitableness, her pride, her captures, her assaults, her wars, her conflicts, from the northern part in the north."⁵⁵ It would be interesting to learn why the northern parts of countries, no matter what may be their latitude relative to that of other nations, generally tend to produce a more aggressive people than those of their own race to the south.

At first the Clan Owen occupied the peninsula of Inishowen, with their capital at Ailech, and the greater part of what is now the barony of Raphoe in Donegal. Later they took over in all about a third of Donegal, including land assigned at the period of the conquest to Éanna, whose stock had not prospered like that of his brothers Owen and Conall, and which eventually sank into insignificance after the loss of its land.⁵⁶ The Clan Owen also held suzerainty from an early period over what is

now the county of Londonderry and northern Tyrone; all this territory, and later additions to the south, being known as Tír Eoghain, land of Owen, afterwards anglicized as Tyrone and now confined as a designation to the limits of the modern county. The Clan Conall at first occupied the southern part of Donegal, but later gained all of that territory, including Inishowen (meaning in Irish "island of Owen"), the original headquarters of the Clan Owen. The latter, in the course of centuries, pushed south through Tyrone into Monaghan and Armagh, where they assumed a sort of protectorate over septs of the Clan Colla. A branch of the ruling sept, the O'Neills of Clandeboy, also crossed the Bann River into Antrim, where they established themselves so strongly that in after years we find them waging war with their kindred in Tyrone.

Although the original capital of the clan was at Ailech, even before the destruction of that stronghold by Muirchertach O'Brien (King of Cashel in Munster) in 1101, the heads of the Clan Owen had transferred their seat of government to Tullaghoge (pronounced locally Tellyhog), while still retaining the title King of Ailech.⁵⁷ Tullaghoge is situated in north-eastern Tyrone, immediately adjacent on the west to the land of Munterevlin, where we find the O'Devlins established when they are first mentioned in history. Later, about the beginning of the fourteenth century, the O'Neills selected Dungannon as their capital, to the south of Tullaghoge and some half dozen miles southwest of Munterevlin. When the kings of the Clan Owen moved their seat to Tullaghoge, they found themselves among their own kinsmen, who had driven the Clan Colla from this country and had set up a "free" kingdom which was, at first, an enclave in the midst of tributary states.⁵⁸

The annals do not enable us to gain a clear perception of how, or at what precise time, the Clan Colla was driven from this territory. The annalists' preoccupation was almost exclusively with details. They give facts, but few explanations, since they seem to have had little feeling for historical trends. It is often as difficult to write a general history from material contained in their pages as it would be to write a history of our times from the contents of a private diary. We know that sometimes, in the expansion of a sept or clan, land was seized outright and the prior owners were immediately dispossessed, but at other times land was acquired by a more gradual process. Overlords of the ruler's family were established in newly won territory. At first the rights of the previous owners were preserved, but in the course of time, on various pretexts, appanages were set up in succeeding generations for branches of the overlord's sept, until finally all or most of the original owners were ousted from their possessions.⁵⁹ These remarks apply, of course, only to the upper classes. The mass of the people, who were unrelated to the ruling dynasties, were probably comparatively little affected in their status by these changes.

The Clan Colla may have been deprived of their land west of Lough Neagh by a gradual process, or their expulsion may have been the result of a victory like that of Emania's conquest by the Three Collas. Perhaps the first Clan Owen infiltration into what was afterwards their kingdom of Tullaghoge may date from 827, when Niall Caille, King of Ailech and High-king of Ireland (a contemporary of Egbert, the first King of England) won the decisive battle of Leth Camm over the Clan Colla. This victory brought much of the latter's land under Clan Owen control, leading some centuries later to the occupation of Armagh itself,

the ecclesiastical capital of Ireland, in former Clan Colla territory. At any rate the Clan Owen was certainly in undisputed possession of the Kingdom of Tullaghoge prior to the year 1000.

Both because of their remote situation, and perhaps also because of the good defensive features of their territory from a military point of view (being largely protected both on the east and south against land invasion by forests, rivers and broad lakes), the Clan Owen and the Clan Conall remained, until their downfall in the early seventeenth century, the least subject to foreign influence of the great Milesian clans. At first they refused any form of allegiance to the Norman invaders, but afterwards made what amounted to an acknowledgement of precedence to the English monarch. This precedence, however, was no more than that which the provincial kings had granted to the high-king in former times, while retaining complete autonomy in their own kingdoms. Even after O'Neill had accepted the title Earl of Tyrone, he preserved effective jurisdiction in his own country until the time of the Flight of the Earls in 1607.⁶⁰

The wars of the Clan Owen may be classified under three heads; domestic, with the Clan Conall and foreign. Their civil wars were the result either of disputes over succession to the kingship by rival claimants of the same sept, or were caused by the pretensions of competing septs to headship of the clan. Of the latter the most important was the struggle between the MacLoughlins and the O'Neills, from which the O'Neills emerged victorious. The ancestors of the O'Devlins were eliminated from contentions for the kingship in the tenth century. The last rígdonna, or eligible royal heir, in their line of descent, according to the laws of heritage, was Shaughnessy (Seachnasach), great-grandson of Domnall of Dabhall, King of Ailech, and grandfather of Devlin, eponym of the O'Devlins. According to Brehon law, Shaughnessy was closely enough related to a former monarch to have been eligible for election either to the throne of Ailech or to the high-kingship of Ireland, but since he was not so selected, his descendants lost their legal claims to these positions. From Shaughnessy's time his posterity merged with the nobility of the clan, probably a more secure if less exalted status than that held by those septs who were contenders for the kingship. The history of the Clan Owen is punctuated by incessant wars between "eligibles". Even after a claimant had been elected king, he was exposed throughout his reign to the dangers of rebellion or assassination. Family after family were eliminated, in fact sometimes practically wiped out, until finally the O'Neills alone were left to fight among themselves over the succession. This they continued to do during the four centuries that intervened between the destruction of their rivals the MacLoughlins and the end of the clan system.

Between the Clan Owen and the Clan Conall there were centuries of warfare. Hostility between the two clans dates from a battle that was fought in 615. Before that time they had maintained tribal solidarity for nearly two centuries, a continuance of the great fraternal affection that is said to have subsisted between their founders, but after that date their rivalry lasted for almost a thousand years.⁶¹ The Clan Owen had, in general, the precedence, since they furnished a majority of the high-kings that were chosen from the northern branch of the Descendants of Niall. In fact from the early part of the eighth century the Clan Owen pre-empted this right. Thereafter their only rivals for the high-kingship

were the southern Descendants of Niall (Clan Colman), who also supplied high-kings in fairly regular alternation until 1002, when a Heberian king, Brian Boru, assumed a title that had been held by the issue of Niall of the Nine Hostages for nearly six centuries.⁶²

In spite of the superior titular status of the Clan Owen, the Clan Conall not only retained their original territory, but were also successful, as we have seen, in depriving the Clan Owen of their ancient seat of power in Inishowen. Even as late as 1522 the O'Donnells, Princes and later Earls of Tyrconnell, who held the same precedence in the Clan Conall as did the O'Neills in the Clan Owen, overwhelmingly defeated the latter at the Battle of Knockavoe.

The Clan Owen was engaged at various periods in wars with the Norse invaders, with the Irian clans (Ulidians or Clanna Rury), and also with their own septs in Antrim and with the Connachta in Connaught. They even extended their wars to Munster, where they fought with Heberian septs like the O'Briens. Their campaigns against the Here-monians of Leinster generally originated in an attempt to collect the Borumha Tribute from the habitually refractory Leinstermen. It was not so much from greed that these costly and sometimes disastrous wars against Leinster were waged, but rather because each new high-king of the Progeny of Conn felt that his reputation would suffer if he did not make at least one effort during his reign to collect what had been for so many centuries regarded as a symbol of racial superiority. Although generally on the defensive, the Leinstermen often proved themselves dangerous adversaries in their own territory. The annals state that in 718 (the year when the Caliph Suleiman made his unsuccessful assault on Constantinople), Fergal "of valiant fight", one of the high-kings in the Devlin genealogy and a contemporary of Charles Martel, was defeated and slain at the "vigorous" battle of Almhain. "Vigorous" it must have been, since the annals further state that "nine was the number of persons that fled with panic and lunacy from this battle. Seven thousand was the number that fell on both sides between them."⁶³

After the Norman invasion in the latter part of the twelfth century, the Clan Owen chiefs fought during four centuries, at first with Norman lords in eastern Ulster and in northern Meath and in Connaught, and afterwards with English generals, until they were finally overthrown in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Taking up the general history of the Clan Owen, the first event of major importance after its foundation was the missionary journey said to have been made into its territory by St. Patrick, about the middle of the fifth century, when the rulers of the clan were converted to Christianity. For several centuries after that time the center of western European learning and culture was to be found in Ireland, and especially at Armagh in Ulster, the ecclesiastical capital. St. Patrick may have chosen a site adjacent to the ruins of Emania for this purpose not only because of its cultural reputation under the former Irian kings, but also perhaps in order to abate, if possible, the bitterness that continued to exist between the dispossessed Irians and the Clan Colla, by giving them a common object of veneration to replace what, by its former associations, was a reminder of old hatreds. Although what may have been the saint's intention was unfortunately not fulfilled in this respect, Armagh became the most famous shrine of Ireland and one of the focus points of Irish culture. After the inundation of the Roman Empire by

pagan tribes, it was from Armagh, and other Irish centers of learning, that missionaries journeyed to what are now Scotland, England, France, Belgium, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and northern Italy, in order to reintroduce Christianity in those countries. On the Continent they founded more than sixty missions, including one as far distant as Kiev in Russia.⁶⁴ Their labors also served incidentally to revive the study of the ancient classical writings, since a good knowledge of Latin and some knowledge of Greek were retained in Ireland when Greek had disappeared and Latin learning had fallen into disuse throughout much of western Europe.

After their conversion to Christianity and the assertion of their ruler's rights to the high-kingship by Muirchertach mac Erca, in the sixth century, the Clan Owen started a gradual expansion of its territory towards the south and east that continued for centuries. The most spectacular events in the clan's history during the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries, were the Danish invasions. These marauders were so bold that they sailed up the Bann River and appeared on Lough Neagh with their fleets. In the year 838, The Annals of the Four Masters state that "a marine fleet of the foreigners took up on Lough Neagh, and the Danes practised their wonted courses, the territories and churches of the north of Ireland being plundered and spoiled by them." The Danes (referred to in the annals as the "Gentiles" or "Foreigners") were again on Lough Neagh in 895, and in that year seized "the garment of Patrick", a holy relic in one of the churches. Another entry speaks of them as still on the lake as late as 943, when they were badly defeated and their king slain by Domnall O'Neill, King of Ailech, the first to bear the surname O'Neill.

These Danish expeditions were of an amphibious nature and furnish an interesting example of the use to which sea power could be adapted on this largest of Irish lakes. The Norse ships were well fitted for such raids, being of light draught, but strongly built and seaworthy. They were propelled both by sail and oars, and in rivers such as the Bann, where shallow rapids were encountered, they were dragged overland. Skilled as the Danes were in sea warfare, and using their ships as mobile forts, it was difficult for the Irish to attack them successfully with the means at their disposal.⁶⁵

The ancestors of the O'Devlins had probably not yet occupied Munterevlin, on the shores of Lough Neagh, while the Danes were raiding in that section, but it is possible that these incursions contributed to the later Clan Owen seizure of this territory by weakening the branch of the Clan Colla who were in possession of that part of Ulster.

The son of Niall Caille, victor at Leth Camm, was Aedh Fair-gray (Finnliath), a contemporary of Alfred the Great. According to O'Clery's Genealogy, Aedh was the last common ancestor of the O'Devlins and the O'Neills. During his reign as high-king (861-877) he achieved a distinguished reputation as a warrior by his victories over the Danes whom in 866 he finally expelled from all their strongholds in northern Ireland. After that date they made no more permanent settlements north of Dublin and Limerick.⁶⁶ The Annals of Ulster become poetical in recording Aedh's death in 879: "On the twelfth of the musical Kalends of December, fierce its tempests, died the noblest of princes Aedh of Ailech, chief king of the Gaels. A steady, manly man of whose fame Ireland was full, a shield against hidden dangers, of the stout stock of the sons of Milesius."

Aedh's son, Domnall of Dabhall, King of Ailech, but not, like his father, High-king of Ireland, was the last royal progenitor of the O'Devlins. He is mentioned frequently in the annals, who say of him "in the later ages there was not a royal hero equal to Domnall." "Like his ancestor Niall of the Showers (Frasach), who died as a pilgrim in St. Columba's island of Iona, Domnall abdicated and "took the palmer's staff" in 911, and four years later "died in penance at the vernal equinox." On his abdication the kingship passed to his younger brother Niall Black-knee (Glúndubh), eponym of the O'Neills, who probably came by his nickname from the un-Irish habit of wearing body armor, after the Danish custom.⁶⁷ Domnall's cognomen of Dabhall seems to have been derived from the Irish name for the Blackwater River, which enters Lough Neagh south of Munterevlin. He may have either been born or fostered on its banks, or have retired to a monastery in its vicinity after his abdication.⁶⁸

Eochaidh, a contemporary of the German king Henry the Fowler, was a son of Domnall of Dabhall, and ancestor of the Men of Drumleene (Fir Droma Lighean), also known as the Uí Echach Droma Lighean or race of Eochaidh of Drumleene. Since this prince was closely related to the ancestors of the O'Neills and the MacLoughlins, he profited by the policy of favoritism towards relatives that was characteristic of Clan Owen rulers, being granted land in what is now the barony of Raphoe, Donegal, north of the town of Lifford. This territory was named Drumleene, meaning in Irish "Ridge of the Lighe", a stream that has been identified with the Swilly Burn, a tributary of Lough Foyle.⁶⁹ According to The Book of Fenagh, this was "mensal" land of the Clan Owen kings, and therefore available as an appanage for a prince of the royal stock. John O'Donovan says that a townland in the parish of Clonleigh, near and to the north of Lifford, still retains the name of Drumleene.⁷⁰

Eochaidh came into possession of Drumleene in the early part of the tenth century. Later, at a time and under circumstances undetermined, his descendants the Men of Drumleene appear to have been expelled from their land in Donegal. By that time, however, a branch of Eochaidh's issue were probably already located on territory in eastern Tyrone, where their two leading septs, the O'Devlins and the O'Donnellys, were established in close proximity to the O'Neill capital, first at Tullaghoge and later at Dungannon. When this territory was first apportioned, Munterevlin to the O'Devlins and Ballydonnelly to the O'Donnellys, the two tracts may have been contiguous, but at the time of the Confiscations in the seventeenth century they were separated by several miles of land belonging to other septs. From the location and extent of their holdings in Tyrone, it appears likely that the Men of Drumleene received this grant when that division of the clan to which they belonged acquired the land west of Lough Neagh. There is some evidence that, after the expulsion of the Clan Colla, this territory had at first been occupied by another branch of the Clan Cwen which, in turn, was displaced by the Descendants of MacErca.

The annals do not furnish much help in obtaining a clear picture of these wars between clans and divisions of clans, but it is probable that at some time during the latter part of the tenth century, perhaps during the reign of Domnall O'Neill, King of Ailech (died 980), when conditions in that country must have been extremely chaotic, the ancestors of the

O'Devlins first occupied the territory later known as Munterevlin.⁷¹ This conclusion is not only based on an interpretation of various entries in the Irish annals, but also results from deductions arrived at by consideration of the genealogy of the Men of Drumleene. When this new kingdom was occupied by the ancestors of the O'Neills and the MacLoughlins, in the latter half of the tenth century, the land would more likely have been parcelled out to close rather than to distant relatives. At this time the Men of Drumleene may have still possessed an eligible royal heir in the person of Shaughnessy, great-grandson of Domnall of Dabhall (died 915), and this grant of newly acquired territory may have been made to him and his heirs as indemnification for their exclusion from the line of succession to the kingship, and also possibly as compensation for military services leading to its conquest. It does not seem likely that the Men of Drumleene would have received large allotments of land in the new kingdom much after the time of its conquest, since with succeeding generations their relationship to the ruling septs would have become more distant and a feeling of obligation towards them less pressing, especially after their legal claims to the throne had lapsed. It also appears probable that, in the course of time, land so near the O'Neill capital would have been divided among close kinsmen of the ruling sept, unless it had previously been allotted to more distant relatives at or about the time of its acquisition. In fact the O'Neills of Ulster were noted among the royal septs for the lavish and aggressive manner in which they provided appanages for their various branches. By the seventeenth century their widely scattered possessions extended over most of the territory under their control.

The pedigree of the O'Devlins' eponymous ancestor is given in various genealogies, including that of Cucogry (Peregrine) O'Clery, one of the Four Masters who composed the annals, and appears in full in Appendix I to this volume. Since we have the dates of deaths of Devlin's great-great-great-grandfather (Domnall of Dabhall, died 915) and of Devlin's great-great-grandson (Giolla mac Liag O'Donnelly, killed in battle 1177), it is probable that Devlin (Doibhilén) flourished about the middle of the eleventh century and was therefore a contemporary of William the Conqueror. Devlin's father was the eponymous ancestor of the related sept - the O'Donnellys. According to The Annals of Ulster a king of Ailech, who like Devlin was fifth in descent from Domnall of Dabhall, died in 1083. The family name of this king was Ua Maelsechlainn, which has been anglicized as O'Melaghlin, but should not be confused with the more famous O'Melaghlin kings of the southern branch of the Descendants of Niall, who lived in Meath. After a few generations the O'Melaghlin of the North ceased to be contenders for the kingship of Ailech, leaving the field clear for the epic contest between the two rival houses of MacLoughlin and O'Neill.

With the exception of Devlin's pedigree we know nothing of this noble, whose memory has been immortalized in the surname now borne by thousands of his descendants. He has also left a constant reminder of his obscure existence in the modern electoral division of Munterevlin. As can be seen from his pedigree, Devlin had a numerous progeny, but only one branch of his descendants has commemorated his name in their patronymic. Nearly thirty generations have elapsed since his time, and so far as is known no records are extant that would enable us to connect any living Devlin with his eponym by an individual descent. John O'Hart

filled two volumes of his Irish Pedigrees with such compilations, but he included no Devlin pedigrees.

In general the commoner Irish names have fairly obvious meanings, but although numerous conjectures have been made as to the etymology of Devlin, none of them appear altogether conclusive, because of the wide variation in spellings of the eponymous ancestor's name as it appears in O'Clery's Genealogy, in the Genealogies of Duaid MacFirbis, and in those of The Book of Lecan and of The Book of Ballymote. The Irish form Doibhilen accords best with the modern pronunciation of the surname, but it is also given as Dobholen, Dobhailen, Dobhoilen and Dobhuilen. The name has been variously interpreted, but "the unprosperous one" seems to be its most probable meaning.⁷² To our modern ears this sounds like an ill-omened name to bestow on a child, but the Irish sensibility, like that of the ancient Romans, differed from ours in such matters. In fact the meaning of some Irish personal names is even more inauspicious than is this one for Devlin. They were possibly survivals from pagan days, their purpose being to propitiate those occult powers which, in so many primitive religions, are supposed to be ever on the alert to punish human presumption.

Many Irish names, such as Eochaidh, Cormac and Domnall, are as common as Tom, Dick and Harry in English, and appear continually in all the genealogies and annals, but Devlin, in any of its Irish forms, was extremely rare among the ancient Irish. Only three other instances of its use have been so far encountered.⁷³ It does not appear among several thousand early Irish names in John O'Hart's Irish Pedigrees. It is strange that a name so uncommon should, by a rare chance, have furnished the patronymic for a Milesian family. The rarity of the name simplifies the work of the investigator. As an instance, one of the easiest Irish surnames to trace is MacGillicuddy, which has only one origin and is peculiar to the county of Kerry. On the other hand, O'Connor may have some half dozen distinct origins, because Connor (Conchobar) was a favorite name in early times among all the clans and in the four provinces. To make a comparison with English names, Conchobar might be compared as to frequency with William, whereas Doibhilen would be as rarely used as Eliphalet or Marmaduke.

Since Ó means "grandson [of]", the first O'Devlin must have assumed this patronymic sometime in the twelfth century, probably before the Norman invasion of Ireland, and at a time when a large proportion of Irish surnames originated.⁷⁴ The surname and the Portuguese nation are of the same antiquity, this being the period when the Christian Kingdom of Portugal was founded. We do not, however, have any sure reference to the Tyrone O'Devlins for several generations after this time. There is nothing surprising about such an omission. There must at first have been few of them and, since they were neither kings nor royal heirs, their names would not be so likely to appear in the annals as those of members of the ruling septs.

Before their fall the MacLoughlins were even more powerful than the O'Neills, so that the Men of Drumleene may have owed the original grant of their land rather to the favor of the former, to whom they were more closely related, according to some authorities, but if such was the case apparently their allegiance was later transferred to the O'Neills, whose capital was adjacent to the land where the Men of Drumleene were located in Tyrone. In fact during the course of one of those civil

wars that were so common among the Clan Owen septs, The Annals of the Four Masters state that in 1142 Muirchertach O'Loughlin (an alternate form of the surname MacLoughlin) defeated the Men of Drumleene, but was himself severely wounded in the battle. At this date it would appear that the Men of Drumleene were strong enough to contend from their own resources with the head of the clan and future high-king, a title that Muirchertach afterwards assumed in opposition to Turlough O'Connor, King of Connaught. Whatever may have been their normal relations with the MacLoughlins, at any rate the Men of Drumleene were not involved in their ruin, since we know that the O'Devlins and the O'Donnellys retained their respective territories until the period of the Confiscations in the seventeenth century.

In 1177 Giolla mac Liag O'Donnelly, great-great-grandson of Devlin, is referred to, both in The Annals of the Four Masters and in The Annals of Ulster, as Chief of the Men of Drumleene, whereas eleven years later, in 1188, their chief is stated to be O'Garve (Ua Gairbh),⁷⁵ both by the two annals mentioned and by The Annals of Loch Cē. This latter entry is perplexing, and admits of various explanations. We should expect either an O'Donnelly as chief, or an O'Devlin, since these two were the only septs that in later times are known to have been of this lineage, and this is the only instance in which the O'Garves of Drumleene are mentioned in any of the annals.

In fact O'Garve may not be a regular patronymic, but simply an indication of descent, of which other examples may be found in the genealogy of the Men of Drumleene as detailed in Appendix I; or O'Garve may be actually the surname of an extinct sept. Taking the first hypothesis as correct, then O'Garve may represent either O'Donnelly or O'Devlin. By consulting the genealogies we find that Devlin is sometimes spoken of as son of Donnelly (Donnghal),⁷⁶ and in other instances as son of Garbh, but in both cases the son of Devlin is said to be Callahan, which would indicate that the same ancestor is known by either name, i.e. Donnghal or Garbh. In Irish Garbh is an appellation meaning "rough", and was a frequent and probably appropriate nickname added to the given name of many Irish chiefs. It is possible, therefore, that the father of Devlin was known as Donnelly the Rough (Donnghal Garbh). The Rev. Patrick Woulfe says:⁷⁷ "Some Irish families have two surnames, one derived from the name and the other from the designation of some ancestor." In this case O'Garve could refer either to O'Donnelly or to O'Devlin. If it refers to O'Donnelly, then the nickname of their eponymous ancestor has been substituted for the regular name. But O'Garve could equally well represent O'Devlin. If such is the case, the nickname of their eponymous ancestor's father, i.e. Garbh, is used for genealogical identification and later Devlin is used for this purpose. Such variations in appellations would not have been unprecedented, since when first introduced patronymics had not become permanently fixed as definite and unchangeable surnames. These are, of course, mere suppositions. Families were frequently wiped out in the wars of that era and this fate may have overtaken the O'Garves. In any case they must have been very closely related both to the O'Devlins and to the O'Donnellys, if not identical with one or the other of them.

There may at this time have been two distinct groups of the Men of Drumleene, one occupying land in Tyrone, and the other in the ancestral

home in Donegal, since The O'Donnelly who was killed in 1177 appears to have been assisting the Clan Owen in Tyrone, whereas O'Garve, the chief in 1188, was killed in a battle between rival factions of the Clan Conall in Donegal.

It is probable that some of the Men of Drumleene were with Domnall MacLoughlin, King of Ailech, when in 1188 he defeated that gigantic freebooter John DeCourcey, Earl of Ulster, but lost his life in the battle. In 1210 Hugh O'Neill, King of Ailech, met King John of England during the latter's stay in Ireland. The Irish king departed from this meeting without giving either "hostages" or "security". At that time the Norman power had secured little more than a precarious hold on the eastern coast, consequently the northern clans were sufficiently remote and strong enough to maintain a complete independence.

In the following year, 1211, The Annals of Loch Cé record the death of O'Devlin, Bishop of Kells, in Meath. Since there was at that time among the Desians in Sligo a sept of O'Devlin,⁷⁸ which, if not extinct, is probably not now represented by any bearing the anglicized form of the surname assumed by the O'Devlins of Tyrone, it is not possible to state positively to which of the two septs the bishop belonged. The probabilities are that he was from Tyrone, because Meath was the country of the Clan Colman, which had alternated for several centuries with the Clan Owen in holding the position of high-king. The bishop, therefore, if he was a Tyrone O'Devlin, would have found himself associating in Meath with the people of a clan habitually friendly with his own and distantly related to his own stock through descent from Niall of the Nine Hostages. Moreover at that time the Clan Owen was in possession of Armagh, the ecclesiastical capital, consequently its clerics may have enjoyed considerable prestige in neighboring Clan Colman territory, especially since Kells was the site of a Columban foundation, obtained as a grant in 804 after Iona had been pillaged by the Norsemen.⁷⁹ St. Columba was a prince of the northern branch of the Descendants of Niall, to which the O'Devlins pertained.

O'Devlin, Bishop of Kells, who died in 1211, seems to have been the representative of a past order in Meath, since at the time of his death the Normans ruled in the former territory of the Clan Colman, whose king, O'Melaghlin, had been deposed and Meath granted as an earldom to the DeLacy family. The monastery of St. Columba at Kells had been torn down and a Norman castle erected on its site. While this work was in progress the first political assassination of the Norman invasion is said to have been effected when the knight Sir Hugh DeLacy was killed by one of the Irish workmen. Under the conditions prevailing in Meath at that time the situation of a native Irish prelate must have been extremely distressing, and the bishop may very well have died as an exile from his see, since it was the English policy to substitute Anglo-Norman for native bishops in those parts of the island where they exercised control.⁸⁰

In 1241, after the conclusive defeat of the MacLoughlins at the Battle of the Red Spears, the O'Neills became sole leaders of the clan. The victor in this battle was Brian O'Neill, who displaced the slain king of the MacLoughlin line and reigned as King of Ailech for nineteen years. The proud house of MacLoughlin, which had produced so many Kings of Ailech and High-kings of Ireland, was so completely ruined as a result of this battle that even their genealogy was neglected and is

now a matter of dispute, some authorities maintaining that, like the O'Devlins, they were descended from Domnall of Dabhall, while others trace their lineage to Domnall's brother Niall, eponym of the O'Neills.⁸¹

It is strange that so illustrious a family should have completely disappeared from Irish history after having for so long occupied such a prominent place in it. In order to account for this disappearance, a theory has been advanced that many of the defeated MacLoughlins, after the fall of their dynasty in Ireland, crossed the narrow sea to Argyllshire in Scotland, and there founded the Scottish clan of MacLachlan, in Strathlachlan. It is true that the MacLachlans claim a Clan Owen lineage, but such claims were advanced by many Scottish clans, frequently without foundation, because of the prestige attached to the Milesian genealogies in the clan days. Apparently there are no records extant that would substantiate this migration. Although there was in fact a considerable interchange of population between the two countries both before and after this time, this solution of the problem as to what became of the MacLoughlins remains no more than a plausible hypothesis.⁸²

Brian O'Neill was killed in a battle with the English at Downpatrick, in eastern Ulster, in the year 1260, and hence is known as "Brian of the Battle of Down". Two years before his death he had been acknowledged "supreme king" of Ireland by O'Connor, King of Connaught, and by O'Brien, King of Thomond, so that he opposed the English at Downpatrick with a strong coalition of allies. It is at the time of this battle that we find the first unmistakable reference to the O'Devlins of Tyrone.

CHAPTER II

THE STORY OF THE SEPT

After the Battle of Downpatrick (1260), MacNamee, Hereditary Poet to O'Neill, composed a poem called The Lament for O'Neill, in which he mourns the death of his king and of the many nobles of his race who were slain with him. Among the latter was The O'Devlin, Chief of Munterevlin, of whom the poet sings:

"Alas! deep grief overspread the country
To anticipate the death of O'Devlin
Gofraidh, our grief unto the Judgement Day
Generous of his banquet (?) was the youth."¹

Gofraidh is the Irish form of the Danish Godfrey. In spite of long continued warfare between these plunderers and the Milesian Irish, there must have been a certain attraction in Danish culture, since the employment of Scandinavian names and intermarriages with Norse women were not unusual among the Milesian Irish. The O'Devlins are, in fact, known to have had at least one connection with the Danes through the marriage of Domnall of Dabhall's sister with Olaf the White, King of Dublin, who belonged to the Yngling race which traced its ancestry from the Norse god Frey,² but Gofraidh was probably the descendant of a Viking woman by a more recent marriage.

That Gofraidh was the Chief of the People of Devlin is shown by the position of the surname, which precedes the Christian name, since according to the Irish custom O'Devlin, like O'Neill, was in itself a title. It is likely that MacNamee had himself enjoyed the young chief's hospitality, and that this was his method of expressing his gratitude for gifts bestowed on him. Generosity was a quality highly praised by the poets in those days, because it was on the largesse of kings and nobles that they depended for a livelihood.³

Like the O'Dalys, most famous of bardic families, the MacNamees had representatives at various courts in Ireland. They were hereditary poets both for the O'Neills of Tyrone and for those of Clandeboy, and a branch of the MacNamees was also located in Sligo.⁴ Loughlin, or Malachy, MacNamee, of Draperstown Cross, in Londonderry, was believed to be the head of the family in 1835, when he told John O'Donovan several anecdotes of his ancestors.⁵

During their entire existence as a sept, since they assumed their surname in the twelfth century, the O'Devlins were probably under the rule of O'Neill, who at different periods used the titles - King of Ailech, King of Tyrone, King of Ulster and Earl of Tyrone. As early as 1167, when the MacLoughlins were contesting for supremacy in the Clan Owen with the O'Neills, a temporary truce was arranged between the two septs by which the country north of Slieve Gallion was assigned to the overlordship of the MacLoughlins and all south of it to that of the O'Neills.⁶ Slieve Gallion is a mountain in what is now the county of Londonderry, northwest of Munterevlin.

The O'Devlins were bound to the O'Neills by ties of fosterage, as will appear later, and probably also by intermarriage. The last common ancestor of the two septs was Aedh Fair-gray, a king of the ninth

century, from whom the O'Devlins were descended in the senior line and the O'Neills from a junior branch.⁷ That so remote a relationship should establish a bond of mutual solidarity is almost incomprehensible to us at the present day, but to a people so careful in the preservation of genealogical records as were the Irish, this remote kinship was still regarded as a valid connection.

Much closer than their relationship with the O'Neills was that of the O'Devlins and the O'Donnellys, with whom they had a common ancestor who lived as late as the eleventh century. Ballydonnelly, seat of the O'Donnellys, lay southwest of Munterevlin about eight miles, and about three miles west of Dungannon, the O'Neill capital. O'Donnelly was Hereditary Marshal of O'Neill's forces, to which the O'Donnellys supplied a contingent of one hundred footmen and sixty horsemen during the Nine Years War. Shane O'Neill the "Proud", son of Conn Oge the "Halt", first Earl of Tyrone, was fostered by O'Donnelly at the same time that his cousin, son of the earl's brother, was fostered by O'Devlin.⁸

The Book of Clondeboy gives details of O'Donnelly's rights and obligations as Marshal of O'Neill's forces. These include the ceremonial office of O'Donnelly in receiving a royal visitor such as O'Donnell, of the Clan Conall. O'Donnelly also had other perquisites, such as the right to certain portions of the cattle killed for use at O'Neill's table.

In his notes to *The Annals of the Four Masters*, John O'Donovan states that Ballydonnelly contained twenty-four ballyboes of land, according to an inquisition taken in the reign of James I.⁹ A ballybo in Tyrone at that time consisted of sixty acres of arable or pasture land, but so much of the land was not included in either of these categories that the actual extent of an Irish territory cannot be accurately determined by the number of ballyboes which it is said to contain. The O'Devlin territory in Munterevlin was probably larger than that of the O'Donnellys, since that part of Munterevlin lying south of the Ballinderry River was said, in a survey of 1608, to have comprised thirty-two ballyboes, and this did not include a probable extension of the O'Devlin property north of that river. Caution is necessary, however, in comparing ancient Irish territories as to size, because of various uncertainties of measurement, and also because septs frequently owned different portions of land that were not adjoining. If the O'Devlins had more land than their kinsmen possessed, their military support to the O'Neills was probably greater than that of the O'Donnellys.

When the Ulster Plantation was established in the early seventeenth century, Ballydonnelly was assigned as his share of the spoils to Sir Toby Caulfield, ancestor of the Earls of Charlemont. After this change of ownership the name of the property was altered to Castlecaulfield. As late as the middle of the eighteenth century, however, an Arthur O'Donnelly was leasing land from the Lords Charlemont in the heart of his ancestors' property. Writing in the first half of the nineteenth century, John O'Donovan says of the O'Donnellys: "All the men of the family that the editor ever saw are remarkable for their manly form and symmetry of person, and even the peasants who bear the name exhibit frequently a stature and an expression of countenance which indicate high descent." In another place the same author says: "After the Revolution this sept, who were remarkable for their adherence to the cause of James II, forfeited the remnants of their ancient estates, but still never lost sight of their former station."¹⁰

Although O'Donovan speaks of the other branch of the Men of Drumleene, the O'Devlins, both in his Ordnance Survey Letters and in his notes to The Annals of the Four Masters, he has left no record as to whether they were distinguished for similar traits to those of their related sept, the O'Donnellys. From his silence we might infer that the O'Devlins had been less successful in retaining remnants of their ancestral territory and had more quickly forgotten their former standing, a conclusion that seems warranted by the absence of their names from lists of Irish landholders in Tyrone and Londonderry in the middle of the seventeenth century.¹¹ The comparatively early and complete elimination of the O' in a Milesian surname, as with the Devlins, is also frequently an indication of misfortune. Anthony Trollope distinguished the rich from the poor branches of the same stock in the title of his novel about Irish life in the first half of the nineteenth century - The Kellys and the O'Kellys. Devlin belongs to that class of Milesian surnames in which the O' was discarded so many generations ago that most of the family would probably be surprised to know that it had ever been used, while O'Brien is an example of that other sort of surname in which the O' has been retained through all changes in a family's fortunes. In their case the fame of Brian Boru, their eponym, may have influenced the O'Briens in retaining this connecting link with so illustrious an ancestor.

1628855

According to the tradition of Tyrone, the Chief of the People of Devlin was Hereditary Sword-bearer to O'Neill.¹² The Book of Clondeboy, a rich source of information about Clan Owen septs written during the days of their supremacy in Ulster, also assigns to The O'Devlin certain rights and duties as a leader of "kerns". These were the Irish light infantry. They had no defensive armor, except sometimes leather or wooden shields, but relied on their agility, and skill with bows and arrows, spears, and at close quarters, their daggers. Although inferior to the English in discipline and equipment, they were dangerous adversaries in guerrilla warfare, and particularly skilled at ambushes. In spite of the disadvantage suffered during centuries of warfare with such heavily armored enemies as the Danes and Normans, the introduction of body armor among the Irish clans was delayed, and its use limited, by a Quixotic prejudice against such artificial means of protection in battle. The heavy infantry of the native chiefs, the armored gallowlasses, who made their first appearance in the thirteenth century, were principally of foreign extraction.¹³

The following is a translation from the difficult modern Irish in which The Book of Clondeboy is written.¹⁴ The environment of the O'Devlins, which is pictured in this passage as both pastoral and martial, was like that of the early Biblical days of flocks and herds, when the People of Israel were engaged in almost constant warfare with neighbors such as the Canaanites and the Philistines.

"Mac Cathmhaoil [MacCawell] and Mac Murchaidh [Mac Murrough] and O Doibhlin [O'Devlin] are O'Neill's true kerns. And their duty is to seize prisoners and to keep them in custody; and their duty by virtue of their office is to keep guard for the first three nights in camp or on a hosting; and on every occasion on which O'Neill receives anything by way of fine, whether for theft, or for spilling of blood, or for non-payment of custom dues, they get two sheep as commission with every cow. The woman of the house [on which the fine is imposed] may have

her choice [of sheep] from the pen, and they have the next choice, i.e. a male sheep and a female sheep, and the female sheep's own lamb accompanies her up to the time of the Feast of Crosses. And for every increase of the cows the commission increases accordingly.

If a thief or outlaw or anyone else is arrested by order of the lord, those who arrest him are entitled to whichever article or adornment [of his] they choose; and if the prisoner is taken during a hosting, and handed over to the true kerns of his own free will, they are not entitled to anything of it [i.e. of his adornments] nor to rewards; the man who captures the prisoner has the right to go on a hosting on the release of the prisoner; and if he go the lord usually allows that no account be taken of the clothes or the ornaments on which are gold or enamel. And the true kerns may not accept gratuities from the people of the house, but only from a stranger [to the locality] except where the lord orders them [him?] to be stripped of all their [his?] goods. If kerns are billeted on the kin of a king's son or of a neighbor [of theirs] they [the kerns] may not accept gratuities from them; but if the wind lies to the door of the house they may, with the permission of the lord, partake of food; if a fine of cows is imposed on the guilty person they may eat beef, and if not they may eat mutton."

These regulations indicate an advanced state of rural civilization in Ulster under O'Neill's rule, while the Brehon Law was still in undisturbed operation, and the development of a legal system probably well adapted to those times and conditions, however it may have differed from that to which we are accustomed. It will be noticed what a strange mixture of military and civil duties are assigned to the "true kerns", combining responsibilities of a commander of the guard, while in O'Neill's camp, with functions similar to those of a modern sheriff in times of peace. Such duties must have been largely performed by deputies, since the "true kerns" themselves would have been principally occupied in the administration of their own territories, except when they accompanied O'Neill on a hosting, i.e. military expedition. The fines imposed in a country such as that over which O'Neill ruled must have amounted to a considerable sum, so that the hereditary office of "true kern" was evidently profitable, and also furnished its holder with an honorable distinction. The tradition that O'Devlin was Sword-bearer to O'Neill may refer to the ceremonial aspect of his office as "true kern". The curious distinction with regard to the direction of the wind possibly refers to one of those bizarre taboos so common in pagan days and, if so, was the relic of an immensely ancient legal system.

The following is a description of the kern written by an English resident in Ireland (1566): "They generally go bareheaded save when they wear a head-piece; having a long head of hair with curled gleebs, which they highly value, and take it hainously if one twitch or pull them. They wear linen shifts, very large, with wide sleeves down to their knees, which they generally dye with saffron. They have woolen jackets, but very short; plain breeches, close to their thighs, and over these they cast their mantles, which Isadore calls *heteromallae*, fringed with an agreeable mixture of colors, in which they wrap themselves up, and sleep upon the bare ground. Such also do the women cast over the garment which comes down to their ankles, and they load their heads, rather than adorn them, with several ells of fine linen roll'd up in wreaths, as they do their necks with necklaces and their arms with bracelets."13

Of the other "true kerns", the MacCawells belonged to that branch of the Clan Owen known as the Descendants of Feradach, because of their descent from a brother of Muirchertach mac Erca. They were therefore only very remotely related to the O'Devlins, their last common ancestor having been Muireadach, son of Owen the founder of the clan. The MacCawells were a numerous and influential sept, who at one time rivalled the O'Neills themselves in power, and are said to have been hereditary advisers to the Kings of Ailech. During the twelfth century, The Annals of the Four Masters refer to their chief by the magniloquent titles "head of the councils and upholder of the liberality and fortitude of the north of Ireland". John O'Donovan says of the MacCawells that they were famous in Irish history for their learning and for the many dignitaries that they supplied to the church. Many of them still live in the barony of Clogher, in southern Tyrone, the territory of their ancestors, the Descendants of Feradach.

The MacMurroughs were less distinguished than the MacCawells. Although the annals record the deaths of their chiefs during several centuries, little else is known of them. Their land, Muintir-Birn, was situated in the extreme southeastern part of Tyrone, south of Munter-evlin and bordering on Monaghan.¹⁵

In apparent contradiction to The Book of Clondeboy, which was written by some scholar attached to the O'Neills, who identified O'Devlin as one of the leaders in O'Neill's infantry, Sir Toby Caulfield, writing in 1610 at the time of the Confiscations, said that the O'Devlins collectively were designated as "horsemen" by the Irish. Although this may have been a native title resembling the English "knight", at the time when Caulfield wrote, the O'Devlins, like their neighbors the O'Donnellys, the O'Hagans and the O'Quinns, probably furnished both horsemen and footmen to O'Neill's forces.¹⁶

The cavalry of the Irish was a sort of light horse, armed with spears, javelins, swords, daggers, and in later times, pistols. They sometimes wore armor, as helmets, coats of mail and shields. Each cavalryman had two attendants and several mounts. Barnabe Rych, a resident of Ireland during the reign of Elizabeth, speaks of the expertness of Irish horsemen, who, riding without saddle or stirrups (like our western Indians), clad in leather and armed only with light spears, swords and targets, never hesitated to meet the mixed bands of English pikes and calivers in headlong charge. As an example of Irish horsemanship, it is recorded that when King John of England was in Ireland, he presented a handsome war steed to the King of Connaught, who immediately removed the heavy Norman saddle and lightly springing on the horse's bare back, rode all day with the foreigners, much to the astonishment of John and his courtiers.¹⁷

It is possible that the mullets (star-shaped spur rowels) in the Devlin or Develin coat of arms may refer to their former status as "horsemen". In any case they would be appropriate symbols for this purpose. In these arms, between the mullets, appears a Celtic cross which probably represents the famous Cross of Arboe, on the shores of Lough Neagh, adjacent to the O'Devlins' ancient territory of Munter-evlin. This cross, which is of great age, is the most notable artistic and historic monument of the countryside in which the O'Devlins lived. The griffin of the crest, an heraldic monster fairly common in Irish arms, seems to have no particular significance. As showing the close

connection of the family with the cross, an O'Devlin who received his pardon with the chief in 1601 is described as vicar of Arboe. It seems probable that the power of appointment to this vicarage, prior to the period of the Confiscations, was in the hands of The O'Devlin.

Claims have been made that Irish coats of arms, like Irish families, are the most ancient in Europe, and it has even been conjectured that some of the bearings in the forms of animals on Irish arms may be totemistic in origin, having been the emblems of Irish clans since pagan days. Whatever may be the truth of this hypothesis in individual cases, the great majority of Irish arms are of comparatively recent date, having been produced in the office of the Ulster King of Arms (Dublin Castle) during the last three centuries. One reason for their production is to be found in the demand of Irish adventurers in Continental European armies for proof of noble blood, which was necessary for promotions to the higher ranks.

It is not known whether the O'Devlins had a coat of arms during the clan days. At the time of his pardon by the English in 1601, The O'Devlin and others of his sept are described as gentlemen, a term ordinarily confined to those having a coat of arms, at least in England. If they did have arms at that period it is unlikely that they were the same now used by their descendants, which apparently date from the nineteenth century.¹⁸

The Cross of Arboe, eighteen and a half feet high, stands on a double-graduated pedestal. On the front center is a representation of the Crucifixion, accompanied by other panels containing elaborately carved Biblical scenes. One of the upper circular quarter-bands of the crossed arms is broken; otherwise the cross is in good condition.¹⁹ This cross may have inspired the Devlin motto - *Crux mea stella*. In fact the O'Devlins may very well have erected this cross, since such crosses were constructed about the time that they, or their immediate ancestors, probably first occupied Munterevlin,²⁰ and the O'Devlins would have been in those days the leading sept in that vicinity, and probably the principal patrons of the abbey, as afterwards of the church, at Arboe.

At Arboe, on the shores of Lough Neagh, are the ruins of an abbey which formerly contained the tomb of St. Colman, its founder.²¹ The abbey itself was destroyed by fire in 1166, when the Ulidians made an incursion into Tyrone, probably in boats from the eastern side of the lake, but the cross remains erect. This abbey was founded by St. Colman, probably in the sixth century, when the Clan Colla, to which he belonged, was in possession of this territory. His relics were long preserved in the abbey, and his festival kept on the twenty-first of February. According to his genealogy, the saint was descended from the eldest of the Three Collas.²²

No Irish map of the O'Devlins' ancestral possessions, dating from the clan days, has come down to us, but an English map of territories confiscated to form the Ulster Plantation was issued in 1610 after preparation in the preceding year.²³ On this map Munterevlin is represented as containing more than 14,000 acres, or in excess of twenty-two square miles. The larger part, by about 2000 acres, lay in the northern portion, Revelin Yetra. The southern part was known as Revelin Outra, the two being corruptions respectively of Irish words meaning The Lower and Upper People of Devlin (i.e. *Muintir Dhoibhilén Íochtarach* and *Muintir Dhoibhilén Uachtarach*).²⁴ These designations may refer

to a prior division, during the clan days, made for convenience of administration, although there was only one chief for the whole territory, as may be seen by reference to the pardon granted to The O'Devlin and his followers in 1601.

On the other hand it is possible that these divisions in Munterevlin may refer to an original occupation of this territory by two branches of Devlin's descendants. Mr. James E. McGuire suggests that this division may date from a period when the O'Devlins and the O'Donnellys occupied Munterevlin jointly, since "People of Devlin" would have been equally descriptive of either sept. Later, at a time and for reasons unknown, one branch of Devlin's descendants may have acquired the territory of Ballydonnelly and have adopted Devlin's father, Donnelly, as their eponym. At any rate there seems to have been no territory known as Muintir Dhonnghaile, but only Baile Uí Dhonnghaile (Ballydonnelly), which means "town of the O'Donnellys", and is a geographical rather than a genealogical designation.

On the map of 1610, as on many other maps of that period, north is at the bottom and south at the top, the reverse of the situation in which they would appear on modern maps.²⁵ This map was not made by actual measurement of the land. The English cartographers simply summoned the "clerks" of the territory, who in the clan days were entrusted with the records of landholdings, and received from them a verbal description of the land by townlands, which the mapmakers put down to the best of their ability, trying to reconcile the data received with the natural features of the terrain. As can be imagined, what was produced under such conditions was at best a crude and frequently distorted attempt at a visual representation of land assigned to the new owners in the Ulster Plantation.²⁶

On the north, as depicted on this map, the boundary of Munterevlin followed the meanderings of the Ballinderry east for about five miles to a point approximately two miles from the mouth of the river. Thence the boundary ran southeast, skirting what is shown as the church-land of Arboe, where most of the modern electoral division of Munterevlin lies, to the shores of Lough Neagh. Along the shores of the lake the O'Devlin territory is represented as stretching south for about three and a half miles and thence, turning west, the southern boundary extended inland about five miles to take in the country around the modern Stewartstown, whence the very irregular western boundary ran north to the point of departure on the Ballinderry.

It is evident from what we know of the map of 1610 that it was made for practical reasons concerned with the division of land among the new settlers, and not with any idea of representing the extent of former Irish territories for historical purposes. So far as this map serves the latter object it does so incidentally. The Plantation system had replaced the clan system of land tenure and English realty law had taken the place of the Brehon Law. The cartographers were especially concerned with the ancient townlands, since these served as useful units in the distribution of land among the new owners. The larger territorial areas, however, did not lend themselves so readily to divisional purposes, and although their names were frequently preserved, as in this case, for the sake of convenient identification, this does not necessarily imply that we have on the map of 1610 the original clan territory as it was before the days of the Confiscations. In making its grants to

"undertakers" the Crown could and did add to or subtract from these tribal territories to suit its own convenience.

Applying these considerations to the map of 1610, as it pertains to Munterevlin, we are at once struck with the impression that, in this particular instance, its extremely irregular shape and deeply indented boundaries bear the general appearance of what we would expect of ancient clan territory, assembled in a haphazard manner before the days of modern surveying. It does not look like an artificial creation planned especially for the scientific allotment of land in the newly constituted Plantation. Lough Neagh forms a natural limit on the east, and the southern and western boundaries could not be pushed much further in either direction without encroaching on territories known to have belonged to the O'Neills, the O'Hagans or the O'Corrs. On further consideration, however, our suspicion is aroused that the northern boundary, as represented by the Ballinderry River, differs from that of the O'Devlin property as it was before the Confiscations.

We know that before the time of the Plantation the Ballinderry, which later represented the dividing line not only between the newly formed counties of Tyrone and Londonderry, but also between the land to its south assigned to the Scottish "undertakers" and that to its north allotted to the London companies, was no more than one of many streams within the country of the Clan Owen. So we find that at the present day the parishes of Ballinderry, Artrea, Lissan, Tamlaght and Derryloran straddle the Ballinderry, their southern portions lying in Tyrone and their northern parts in Londonderry. These parishes, which like many of the present townlands antedate the Plantation, are valuable for the indications that they furnish of the former extent of clan territories. Knowing that the Ballinderry was no boundary for parishes, we are led to suspect that it was not a boundary in the clan days for Munterevlin on its northern border. Likewise we find that the distribution of Devlin landholders in the middle of the nineteenth century was little affected by the Ballinderry as a boundary, since Griffith's Valuation, and the testimony of John O'Donovan in his Ordnance Survey Letters, show them to have been especially numerous in southern Londonderry at that time, and particularly so in the part of Artrea parish lying in that county. Although too much importance should not be attached to such a distribution so many centuries after the clan days, at any rate it gives some additional weight to a conclusion that seems warranted on other grounds, which is that the ancient Munterevlin extended north of the Ballinderry into what is now the barony of Loughinsholin in Londonderry.

For this conclusion we have the assertion of John O'Donovan, who is outstanding among Irish scholars for his exact observations and wide range of knowledge. In one of his Ordnance Survey Letters, written from Moneymore in Londonderry, and dated Sept. 27, 1834, he says: "The Devlins are by far the most numerous family from this to Lough Neagh, where tradition says their inheritance lay, and there is a district to the west of the lough, in the parish of Ard-Trea,²⁷ that still recalls their name Muintir Dobhailen, anglicized Munterevlin." On the map of 1610, however, as can be seen from a list of townlands and parishes given in Appendix VI, the parish of Ard-trea, or Artrea, was not a part of either Revelin Yetra or of Revelin Outra, nor was it included in the modern electoral division of Munterevlin. It will be

noticed that O'Donovan wrote this letter, making reference to a district in southern Londonderry known locally as Munterevlin, four years before the electoral division of Munterevlin was established in Tyrone, south of the Ballinderry, by the Poor Law Act of 1838.

In corroboration of O'Donovan's statement that the O'Devlins were a sept of southern Londonderry, is the map of Philip MacDermott, prepared for Owen Connellan's edition of The Annals of the Four Masters, published in 1846, on which the O'Devlins are represented as occupying land north of the Ballinderry River, or rather north of the region through which this stream, which is omitted on the map, would flow. Likewise, while in one part of his Irish Pedigrees John O'Hart says that the land of the O'Devlins lay on the borders of Derry and Tyrone, near Lough Neagh, in another place he refers to O'Devlin as a chief in Londonderry, using the modern county designation for the convenience of his readers.²⁸ Sir Robert E. Matheson, in his Special Report on Surnames in Ireland, also classifies the O'Devlins as a Londonderry sept. Of course all these authorities may simply have taken O'Donovan's assertion as basis for their location of Munterevlin, but for what they may be worth these additional testimonies tend to strengthen the belief that Munterevlin was not bounded by the Ballinderry.

Mr. J. K. McGuire, to whom the author is so largely indebted for a study of this question, notes that some of the "small proportions" on the map of 1610, formed by groups of townlands, extend on either side of the river, so little was the latter regarded as a boundary even for such minor territorial units. On the map of 1610, Revelin Yetra and Revelin Outra are shown as almost devoid of trees, as at the present day, but north of the Ballinderry a dense forest, fourteen or fifteen miles in length, is represented. On the other hand The Civil Survey (1654-1656), Vol. III, p. 248, speaks of "useful woods" in "Monter-neavlin" about fifty years later, perhaps referring to a portion of the ancient territory north of the Ballinderry.

The Munterevlin which O'Donovan describes as lying in his day between Moneymore and Lough Neagh, in the parish of Artrea, apparently included a portion of the great forest of Killetragh, referred to above. The roads through this forest would have formed a connecting link with the O'Devlin property to the south. The few inhabitants of this densely wooded area are described as "wild Irish" by the English who passed through this former stronghold of the rebel Earl of Tyrone after the Nine Years War.

If the O'Devlin holdings reached north into Artrea parish, in what is now the county of Londonderry, such an extension would have brought the O'Devlins into contact with the rulers in that region, the O'Cahans, and we should expect to hear of some relations between the two septs. As will be seen later, we do in fact find that O'Cahan sent his son in fosterage with O'Devlin, a likely gesture of friendship towards a neighboring landowner who might prove useful as an ally, but less probable if the chief of a minor sept was not a neighbor.

Although we are dealing here with probabilities and not with certainties, it seems likely that at least a portion of the clan land of Munterevlin lay north of the Ballinderry, in spite of the map of 1610, which represents this river as its northern boundary. The main part of Munterevlin, however, in productivity if not in extent, was probably south of the Ballinderry (where the Devlins now live in greatest numbers)

and roughly in the position where it appears on this map. Subject to the crude methods of map-making described by Dr. Séamus Ó Ceallaigh, it seems that, with perhaps minor additions or subtractions, southern Munterevlin lies before us very much as it was before the Confiscations. In confirmation of this view we have a map of an earlier date (1603-1606) on which, with no pretense to more than a rough indication of its location, Munterevlin occupies the same general position that it has on the large-scale map of 1610. This map of 1603-1606 is of the kind made by early explorers in America, on which the names of Indian tribes appear sprawled vaguely over wide stretches of territory. It gives the impression that all the land west of Lough Neagh, to a considerable distance south of the Ballinderry and well inland from the lake, belonged to the O'Devlins, since it does not make a distinction between the church land of Arboe and the clan territory, as on the map of 1610. It does not deny the extension of O'Devlin holdings north of the Ballinderry, however, as little more than the mouth of this stream is shown.²⁹

Considering the manner in which the map of 1610 was prepared, a detailed discussion of its component parts would hardly lead to any very valuable results, since the map itself, which would provide the foundation for such an inquiry, is little more than a rough sketch to which it would be impossible to lay a scale of miles with any assurance that the results would conform to realities. Thanks to this map, however, even if the pious pilgrim in visiting the land of his forefathers cannot determine its extent with a surveyor's precision, he can at least traverse considerable areas of its surface with the certitude that he is treading the soil of the O'Devlins' ancient territory. Travelling east from Stewartstown to the shores of Lough Neagh, or north from that village to the Ballinderry, he may become acquainted with the low-lying land to the west of the great lake which was the possession of his ancestors for so many centuries.

The seat of The O'Devlin, chief of his sept, was probably at An Chraobh (pronounced approximately In Crew), Irish words meaning "the mansion", and the original name of the townland in which it was located seems to have been Faigh. It was at An Chraobh that Andrew Stewart, Lord Ochiltree,³⁰ built a castle when Revelin Yetra and Revelin Outra were assigned to him as "undertaker" by James I, at the time of the Confiscations, in 1610. In fact a contemporary document speaks of Irish houses, later occupied by British tenants, as located near the new castle.³¹ Such a settlement was likely to have accumulated in proximity to The O'Devlin's residence. The fortified mansions of the former chiefs, or at least the defensive earthworks and stockades attached to them, were often taken over by the new settlers, as they were ordinarily well located for purposes of defense. Around this castle of the new owner grew what is now the village of Stewartstown.³²

Such residences as that of The O'Devlin were almost always constructed of wood. For the furniture, doorposts and other special parts of the house, yew was frequently used, carved and set with gold, silver, bronze or gems. About the chief's dwelling were grouped separate buildings for servants, retainers and livestock. Around all these structures was a circular trench, with an earthen rampart and stockade on the inside. Where water was at hand, the trench was flooded to make a moat, as an additional protection against enemies, robbers or wolves,

which last were not completely eliminated from the Irish countryside until the eighteenth century. A special breed of dogs (the gigantic Irish wolfhounds, which The Book of Lismore compares in size to donkeys,³³ and whose modern representatives sometimes stand three feet from the ground at the shoulders) was kept to guard the flocks and herds from their depredations.

The everyday dress of both sexes in a community like Munterevlin, as evidenced by figures on High Crosses such as that of Arboe and from literary references, consisted of a tight-fitting linen garment worn next to the skin and a cloak with an attached hood; the latter affording the only protection for the head except that furnished by the hair, which was grown thick and bushy, or flowing. On the feet were leather shoes, often elaborately decorated, and resembling Indian moccasins. Vivid colors characterized the dress worn on formal occasions, and the jewelry that has been preserved, such as brooches and pins, often displays a marked artistic excellence in design and workmanship.

An English writer of the sixteenth century describes the food of the native Irish as consisting of meat, cresses, roots and herbs, oatmeal, beef broth, black blood pudding and aqua vitae. This was written before the potato had been introduced. When the weather was favorable the Irish often transferred their feasting to the open air. In a sixteenth century woodcut, an Irish chief is shown presiding at what resembles a western American barbecue, except for the harper and bard, who are furnishing amusement to the guests in accordance with the Irish custom.³⁴

In the modern world, the menage of an Arab sheikh would perhaps come nearest to the general effect produced by such a household as that of The O'Devlin, especially in that open-handed hospitality which is characteristic of pastoral aristocracies. The principal diversions of the Milesian nobility were feasting, hunting and raiding. These had been the delight of their forefathers from the earliest times of which we have any knowledge, and they asked nothing better than a continuance of this way of life.

The modern electoral division of Munterevlin, which commemorates in its name the prior possessions of the O'Devlins in northeastern Tyrone, contains only two townlands - Mulanahoe and Lanaglug - that formed a part of the more than twenty square miles included in the clan territory south of the Ballinderry, if we can trust the map of 1610 for its correct demarcation. The remainder of the electoral division's 6863 acres is located on what this map represents as the church-land of Arboe, afterwards granted to the Protestant Archbishops of Armagh, when the Ulster Plantation was established. The electoral division was formed at the time when the Poor Law of 1838 was enacted, the authorities selecting by a happy inspiration a place-name associated with the locality, although at that time the exact location of the old territory was not known.³⁵

In Irish Muintir Doibhilén³⁶ is both People of Devlin, in reference to those of its inhabitants who were descendants of Devlin, and also a place-name applied to the land where the O'Devlins lived. Many Devlins now live on or in the vicinity of their ancient territory, but they were never the sole nor, in the clan days, its most numerous inhabitants, being at that time the administrators, the principal landowners, and probably either the original conquerors of the land, or the protégés of the conquerors. The popular impression that the people of an Irish

territory formed a homogeneous clan, claiming descent from a common ancestor, is incorrect, as can be seen by an examination of ancient records such as the State Papers called Fiants.³⁷ In one of these documents, which contains the pardon of the last Chief of Munterevlin for his participation in the Nine Years War against the English, while twenty-two of his own name are included in this amnesty, there are fifty others using twenty-one different surnames.³⁸ For reasons given in the first part of the third chapter, the Devlins now probably form a greater proportion of the inhabitants in the country west of Lough Neagh than they did during the days when they ruled over this territory.

In the pardon given to O'Devlin and his followers in 1601, those classed as "gentlemen" included only the O'Devlins and the Maguiggans, and there were nearly as many of the latter as of the former. From the close association of the two septs it appears probable that the Maguiggans had some sort of hereditary office or offices in O'Devlin's household, just as O'Devlin served as "true kern" to O'Neill, since every ruler of a tuath like Munterevlin maintained an establishment patterned on that of a king.³⁹ The Maguiggans were apparently "free tenants" under O'Devlin, to whom they gave military service and an annual tribute. They were also required to pay a portion of the ransom in case a member of the chief's family was taken prisoner during a hosting.⁴⁰ In the territories of the greater lords, allotments of land were made to provide for hereditary brehons, poets, and other functionaries, as well as for gallowglass leaders,⁴¹ but it is doubtful if The O'Devlin could have afforded to maintain such a following. The Maguiggans⁴² may have performed various functions that would have been the hereditary duties of different septs at a king's court.

In a letter from Londonderry (Moneymore, Jan. 27, 1834), John O'Donovan makes the following remarks about them: "Columbkille [i.e. St. Columba] has left a sort of curse upon the Maguiggans for some act of covetousness that they committed in his time [sixth century] - and it is said that no one of them can ever become a priest. The whole family are a little touched in the brain, as the name signifies." If this stricture is well-founded the Maguiggans should provide interesting material for investigation by students of heredity, but notwithstanding O'Donovan's unflattering generalization about their inherited characteristics, this family seems to have been well regarded in Munterevlin, where they apparently occupied a position of some distinction. The curse of St. Columba on the Maguiggans is, of course, not to be taken seriously as a relation of historic fact. Such tales were mere local gossip, and were told of various saints, but they are of interest as showing that the memories of a remote past were still a part of the Irish consciousness about a century ago in O'Donovan's time. If it comes to his notice, this story may amuse His Eminence James, Cardinal McGuigan, Archbishop of Toronto and Papal Legate, who judging by his surname seems to be a descendant of this supposedly priestless family.

Mr. Terence Rafferty says: "It is most likely that the Maguiggans were of Norse descent. 'Uiging' was the Irish for 'Viking' and the surname would be 'MagUiging' (son of the Viking). I do not know why O'Donovan says that the name signifies that the family is a little touched in the brain." If this etymology is correct, the question arises as to whether the Maguiggans could have been descendants of the Norsemen

who for several centuries are described in the annals as at intervals on Lough Neagh with their fleets, ravaging the surrounding country. Perhaps some of them had settled on the western shore of the lake, and when the ancestors of the O'Devlins established the territory of Munterevlin an accommodation might have been made with these prior occupants of the land. Or perhaps some Viking chief had married an O'Devlin, and have thus fathered the Maguiggans, as such interracial connections were fairly common in early days. It would appear from their position at the time of the Confiscations, as second only in importance to the O'Devlins in Munterevlin that, whatever their origin may have been, the Maguiggans must in the course of centuries have become closely related to the rulers of this territory by intermarriage.

Perhaps the Norse name Gofraidh, borne by the young Chief of the People of Devlin who was killed at the Battle of Downpatrick in 1260, may have been that of a Maguiggan ancestor in the female line. Mr. Rafferty says: "Intermarriage was generally the cause for the introduction of Norse names among the Irish. Such names were especially common among the O'Cahans. It is still a custom in Ireland to name the eldest son after a grandfather, so Gofraidh's mother may have been of Norse lineage."

A short distance south of Munterevlin, some half dozen miles, was Dungannon, the O'Neill capital, with a castle destroyed by the English at the time of Sir Phelim O'Neill's Rebellion in 1641, and also an abbey founded by the first Earl of Tyrone, Conn O'Neill the "Halt", in the reign of Henry VIII, but long since demolished.⁴³ Dungannon at present has a population of about 4000, but there are now only villages in the former land of the O'Devlins, the most important of which are Stewartstown and Coagh. The former dates from the time of the Ulster Plantation and the latter was laid out by a Colonel Conyngham about 1728. The guide book describes Coagh as pleasantly situated in a fertile vale about four miles from Lough Neagh, on the Bailinderry River, which is said to be a good trout stream. Cookstown, founded by the landlord Allan Cook in 1609, is the station on the railroad which is nearest to the ancient O'Devlin territory. From there a road runs a distance of nine miles, by way of Coagh, to Arboe where the famous cross is located. In the clan days there were no towns or villages in Munterevlin, unless the settlement around The O'Devlin's residence could be described as such. The old Irish civilization was for the most part rural. Speaking of neighboring Fermanagh in 1607, Sir John Davies states that there was not a single fixed village within its limits, so little were the Irish of those days inclined to even such minor concentrations of population. Cities in Ireland were generally of Scandinavian origin.

Lough Neagh, the largest lake in the British Isles, is the most conspicuous feature in the landscape of this part of Tyrone. It is about fifteen miles in length by ten in breadth, occupying one hundred and fifty square miles. It is squarish in shape, very uniform in depth (about forty to fifty feet) and its shores are not much indented nor does it contain many islands or reefs. Ten rivers flow into it and it forms the boundaries for five Ulster counties. Writing in the twelfth century, Giraldus Cambrensis says of it: "There is a lake in Ulster of vast size from which a very beautiful river called the Banna flows into the Northern Ocean. The fishermen in this lake make more frequent complaint of the quantity of fish enclosed in their nets and breaking them

than of the want of fish."⁴⁴ John O'Hart says that the salmon in the O'Neill coat of arms is symbolical of their dominion over Lough Neagh. At the present day the fishing in this lake produces an annual revenue of six to seven thousand pounds. Eels are the most profitable catch, large quantities of which are exported to Billingsgate Market in London. Trout are also caught, and pollan, a species of land-locked salmon peculiar to Lough Neagh. The latter is a bright, silvery fish, which in season is as common as herring in the cottages of the poor. At the present day Devlin is said to be the most usual name among the fishermen of Lough Neagh, from whose waters the family has been taking a large part of its food during the last thousand years.

In former times the Devlins were supposedly indebted to the lake for the cure of various skin diseases. Writing in 1713, the Lord Bishop of Clogher says that the people in the barony of Dungannon, where the Devlins lived, flocked to the shores of Lough Neagh on Midsummer Eve, and bathed in its waters to rid themselves of such infections, a custom apparently dating from pagan days. Before the introduction of Christianity, Midsummer Eve was a date of especial religious significance for the Irish.

A legend quoted by Giraldus Cambrensis relates that this lough was formed by the sudden overflow of a fountain that buried many cities. Its waters are popularly supposed to have petrifying qualities. Hawkers used to walk the streets of Belfast crying: "Lough Neagh hones, put in sticks and taken out stones." Black's Guide to Ireland⁴⁵ says of these qualities: "If they exist they are believed to be confined to the Crumlin Water, a small stream which runs into the lake near the village of that name ... Specimens of this fossil wood are frequently to be met among the peasantry. They are very beautiful, being real petrifications, and not merely incrustations. They take a good polish, and look quite as well as many of the best specimens from Antigua."

The shores of Lough Neagh are low-lying and the scenery in its vicinity is more like that of an inland sea than of a typical Irish lake. Storms on this extensive body of water produce large waves that frequently make navigation dangerous for small craft. Viewed from the lake, on the Derry and Tyrone side, the mountains are situated at too great a distance to furnish a spectacular background. The most beautiful views in this vicinity are not from the lake itself, nor from its shores, but rather from higher ground to the west. From such positions Lough Neagh presents the appearance of a vast burnished shield.

On the northwest, overlooking the plain on which the O'Devlins lived, and at a distance of about twelve miles, is Slieve Gallion, a spur of the Sperrins about sixteen hundred feet in height. On this mountain are said to lie the remains of Colla Uais, eldest of the three mighty warriors who burned Emania and took this part of Ulster from the Irians in the fourth century. It was the issue of Colla Uais whom the Clan Owen drove from their territory west of Lough Neagh sometime during the tenth century.⁴⁶

In the year 1260, when the young chief Gofraidh O'Devlin fell with his king at the Battle of Downpatrick, Henry III was on the throne of England and Louis IX the Saint reigned in France. From this date to 1495, the next year when we hear of the O'Devlins of Tyrone, is two hundred and thirty-five years. During this interval the O'Devlins seem to have retained, if not increased, their standing, since even as late as

1608, when the clan system was abolished, we find them classed by the English as one of the principal septs of the Clan Owen. There is nothing unusual about this silence of the annals concerning the O'Devlins during these centuries, since their kinsmen the O'Donnellys are mentioned no more frequently. During a period when Ireland teemed with kings, the annalists had little space available in their chronicles for the doings of nobles.

As compared with the breathless tempo of modern life, in which inventions such as the steam engine, automobile, airplane, radio, television, telegraph, telephone and the atom bomb produce revolutionary changes within the space of decades, during the six hundred years that they possessed Munterevlin the O'Devlins appear to have been poised almost motionless while time rushed past them. During the centuries when they led the life of a rural aristocracy, with their thoughts, actions, and even their dress, manners and speech, so little changed from generation to generation, Europe had passed through the age of feudalism and was treading on the threshold of the modern era. While O'Devlin succeeded O'Devlin in Munterevlin, England had been ruled by Norman, Plantagenet, Lancastrian, Yorkist, Tudor and Stuart kings; and Europe had experienced the crusading and cathedral-building fervor of the Middle Ages, the Protestant Revolt, and the formation of the Great Power system. During all this time, with a few minor alterations in external details, the O'Devlins lived much the same life as that of their forebears back to the dawn of Irish history. If a modern man were to be placed by some miracle in the environment of six centuries ago, he would find a world completely and bewilderingly different, but an O'Devlin of the days immediately preceding the extinction of the clan system would probably have been much at home in the Munterevlin of the year 1000. He would have found a world very similar to that which he had left - a chief of his lineage to follow, the same rivalry with the Clan Conall and other hereditary foes, the same religion, brehons, ollamhs (scholars), genealogical discussions, hostings, inauguration ceremonies, fosterage, and other features of Irish life familiar to him in his own environment.

Taking up the general history of the Clan Owen after the Battle of Downpatrick, we find Hugh Boy O'Neill defeating the O'Donnells at Desertcreaght in 1281. This battle was fought less than a mile from Tullaghoge, whither O'Donnell had penetrated with a large army, reinforced by many allies. O'Neill made a stand at the river, the last natural defense, and was successful in repulsing the invader with great slaughter, O'Donnell himself and a long list of "sons of kings and chiefs" enumerated by The Annals of Ulster being included among the slain, but this narrow escape of Tullaghoge from capture seems to have led shortly afterwards to the transference of the political capital to Dungannon, which was better situated for defense. Tullaghoge, however, as the seat of O'Hagan, the Hereditary Brehon, continued to be used for the ceremonies of inauguration by each new head of the clan. Brehons like O'Hagan were revered for their knowledge of the ancient laws and customs, and for their usually upright character. The septs of O'Devlin and O'Hagan were very remote kinsmen. According to John C'Donovan their last common ancestor was Owen, founder of the clan.⁴⁷

The thirteenth century was filled with wars between the O'Neills

and the MacLoughlins, and after the latter's downfall with intestine wars among the O'Neills. The Clan Owen was so weakened by these dissensions that Richard De Burgh, the "Red Earl of Ulster", was able to erect a stronghold known as Greencastle in Inishowen, and the Clan Conall gained possession of the remainder of this peninsula, which the Clan Owen had held for eight centuries. The loss of their ancient capital by the Clan Owen was compensated, however, by the conquest of land to the south and east of their original territory. The thirteenth century also witnessed the introduction of gallowglasses, or heavy-armed professional soldiers, largely recruited from Scotland. They resembled their predecessors in Irish history, the Fenians, being mercenaries hired by the Irish kings and chiefs for use in their continual wars.

Hugh O'Neill the "Fat", who reigned from 1325 to 1364, assumed the title King of Ulster. His successor, Niall the Great, defeated the English at the second Battle of Downpatrick, thus avenging his predecessor "Brian of the Battle of Down". During the fifteenth century there were wars with the O'Donnells and wars of succession among the O'Neills. In 1493 Conn Mór O'Neill, "the bountiful bestower of valuable presents and property", was murdered by his brother Henry. Conn's wife was a Fitzgerald, sister of the Great Earl of Kildare, this union being one of many matrimonial alliances between the Milesian Irish and the Anglo-Norman nobility. Henry O'Neill did not immediately profit by his brother's murder, since his uncle Domnall was elected O'Neill after Conn's death. In 1497, however, Henry induced Domnall to resign his title to him in return for great presents in horses and armor, but retribution overtook the murderer in the following year, when Henry was killed by Conn's sons.⁴⁸

It was during this period of fratricidal strife that the O'Devlins of Tyrone are first mentioned in the annals. The Annals of the Four Masters and The Annals of Ulster both record the death of Tiernan O'Devlin in 1495. Nothing more is said of him, so that the only inference that we can draw is that he was at least of sufficient importance to make his decease worthy of record. At this time Henry VII was on the throne of England, Charles VIII was King of France and Ferdinand and Isabella reigned in Spain. Three years previously Columbus had discovered America. In Ireland this was the time of Garrett Fitzgerald, the Great Earl of Kildare, and of the struggle for supremacy between the rival families of Fitzgerald and Butler.

In form the Irish annals somewhat resemble a ship's log, except that their entries are by years instead of by days. Much space is devoted in their pages to such information as appears in the death, marriage and birth columns of a modern newspaper. In their relations of events there is little attempt at discrimination between the important and the trivial. Matters of historical significance are jumbled together with accounts of extraordinary crimes, of cattle-stealing raids, mortalities of cows, droughts, floods, pestilences, monstrous births, minute genealogical details and the deaths of obscure chieftains. In their preoccupation with the strange, the abnormal, the monstrous and the disastrous, the annals resemble our "yellow journals", and in their predilection for the aristocracy they have an affinity with our periodicals that deal with social matters and the activities of the "smart set". It is obvious, therefore, that the picture of Irish life given in the annals

is a distorted one, and does not correspond with the realities of normal existence during the clan days.

Passages of poetry are interspersed in the text of the annals, and symbolical language is sometimes used, as when The Annals of Ulster say that in 763, during the reign of Niall of the Showers (Frasach), one of the high-kings in the Devlin genealogy and a contemporary of Charlemagne, "from Heaven for love of Niall fell a shower of silver, a shower of wheat, and a shower of honey". This seems to be a poetical way of describing the era of peace and plenty that characterized that monarch's reign, if it is not a fanciful manner of accounting for his name. In parts the style of the annals is forceful and vivid. We are presented with the picture of a life and a point of view very different from that of our modern civilization, of a culture that had much of charm and beauty, in spite of its crudities, but which was tragically ill-adapted to compete in a struggle for existence with that of Ireland's militant neighbor across the Irish Sea. The annals are seldom perused in detail except by those engaged in historical investigations, since they are little more suited for sustained reading than a dictionary or a telephone directory. Their contents are not history, but rather the raw material from which history can be composed. The most famous of the annals are those of the Four Masters, compiled in the seventeenth century by the O'Clerys, Hereditary Historians to the O'Donnells, Princes of Tyrconnell, assisted by O'Mulconry, whose family had been Hereditary Poets to the O'Connors, Kings of Connaught.

After the death of Tiernan O'Devlin in 1495, we do not hear again of the O'Devlins for thirty-seven years, and then only indirectly. It is probable, however, that they were with O'Neill when he was defeated by O'Donnell at Knockavoe, in 1522, the bloodiest battle that had ever been fought between the Clan Owen and the Clan Conall in all their centuries of warfare.

In The Annals of the Four Masters, and in The Annals of Ulster, for the year 1532, it is recorded that Felim the Devlinite, or Devlinian (in Irish Doibhlinéach), son of Art, son of Conn O'Neill, took part in a raid on the Maguires, a Clan Colla sept that, since their rise to be the chief family of Fermanagh in the latter part of the thirteenth century, had been vassals of the O'Donnells.⁴⁹ Felim appears to have been the nephew of Conn Oge the "Halt", who was inaugurated O'Neill in 1519 and created Earl of Tyrone in 1542 by Henry VIII, since Conn Oge succeeded his brother Art as O'Neill, and they were both sons of Conn O'Neill the "Great". The identity of Felim as a close relative of the earl is further confirmed by his inclusion with the sons of O'Neill as a leader in this raid.

Felim O'Neill had been fostered in the house of the chief, The O'Devlin.⁵⁰ In after life the term Devlinite, or Devlinian, was applied to him on account of this childhood association. So ancient was this curious custom of fosterage that we hear of it among the gods of the Irish mythology, and it persisted in occasional instances to at least as late as the eighteenth century. It was practised by all classes, but more especially by those in the higher ranks, it being customary for a chief to send his child in fosterage to one of his own subchiefs, this being an effective means of increasing clan solidarity, or to the chief of any sept that he wished to conciliate. The child who was fostered became a member of the family where he was reared and retained

throughout life the closest of ties with his foster-parents, and with his foster-brothers and sisters, besides assuming their family name as a cognomen. In spite of edicts, such as the Kilkenny Statute of 1367, forbidding fosterage between the English and the Milesian Irish, Norman lords such as the Fitzgeralds and the Burkes, who had become thoroughly hibernicized, continued to send their children in fosterage with families like the O'Neills and the O'Connors.⁵¹

As a sample of the annalists' style and their method of recording events, the following account of this raid on the Maguires, the hereditary enemies of the O'Neills and the O'Devlins, is given as it appears in The Annals of Ulster. "Cormac, son of Maguire, was taken in treachery by the sons of O'Neill and by Ferdocha O'Neill and by Felim the Devlinite, son of Art, son of Conn O'Neill, and some of the horse host of Maguire, namely William, son of Cormac MacCaffrey, and the freckled Gillie, son of Henry MacCaffrey, the Tawny, and other persons that are not reckoned were slain there." In the year 1532 The Maguire was Cuchonaght. It is said that MacCaffrey, his Hereditary Standard-bearer, displayed the banner of this powerful sept at the head of a thousand warriors.⁵²

In reading these Annals of Ulster, which are so frequently quoted in this story, it should be considered that they were compiled by Cathal MacManus, Dean of Clogher and chief of a branch of the Maguires, while residing in Belleisle, a stronghold in Lough Erne, where he may have retired to secure some peace from the continual warfare in which the Maguires engaged. The dean died in 1498, but the annals were afterwards brought down to the year 1541 by Rory O'Cassidy, Archdeacon of Clogher, who was a classical scholar known as "the Grecian". The O'Cassidys held the position of Hereditary Physicians to the Maguires.⁵³

As is natural, considering the authorship of these annals, the Maguires are likely to be represented as the victims of treacherous and unprovoked attacks. The death of a Maguire of any prominence is always the occasion for a panegyric on his virtues. As an instance, in recording the death of his predecessor in the authorship of the annals, O'Cassidy refers to the dean as "the precious stone, in sooth, and the gem of purity and the shining star, and the stored chest of wisdom and fruitful branch of Scripture and fount of charity and meekness and mildness and the dove for purity of heart and the turtle for chastity, and the one to whom were grateful the bardic bands and pilgrims and poor mendicants of Ireland and the one who was full of grace and knowledge in every science both law and divinity, physic and philosophy, and knowledge of Gaedhelic also to the time of his decease, and the one that projected and collected and compiled This Book from very many other books."⁵⁴ The Annals of Ulster are outstanding among historical writings of their kind and period for the accuracy with which they record events and dates, but in their judgment as to character and motives they are frequently influenced by an understandable family bias. The conduct of the O'Devlins, and that of members of other septs usually hostile to the Maguires, may not necessarily have been so reprehensible as it is sometimes made to appear in these annals. Similar allowance should be made for entries in The Annals of the Four Masters which are taken from the earlier Annals of Ulster.

Relations between the O'Neills and the O'Devlins seem to have been especially intimate during the first half of the sixteenth century, since

another example⁵⁵ is found of a prince of the royal stock being fostered by the O'Devlins. This other "Devlinite" was a Clandeboy O'Neill, whose territory on the eastern shore of Lough Neagh faced the O'Devlin country across the lake, and extended eastward to the Glens of Antrim and Strangford Lough. Muirchertach O'Neill, called Devlinagh, was the son of Brian III, the "Freckled", and was the last elected Prince of Clandeboy, from which position he was ejected by his cousin Hugh in 1552. It was from this "Devlinite" that the O'Neills of Portugal claim descent. The latter settled in that country in 1736 and were subsequently ennobled as peers of Portugal. The head of the Portuguese branch assumed the title Count of Tyrone as heir general of Hugh O'Neill, the attainted earl, on the death of the last male heir in the French branch of the O'Neills in 1901. The Genealogical Office, Dublin Castle, has recently confirmed the title of O'Neill (of Clandeboy) to H. E. Dom Hugh O'Neill of Lisbon.⁵⁶ Baron O'Neill of Shane's Castle, in the British peerage, is the descendant of Muirchertach Devlinagh's brother, in the female line.⁵⁷

John O'Donovan gives an account of an O'Devlin fosterling from among the O'Cahans (O'Kanes), that sept whose head was Prince of Limavady and, in earlier times, King of Cianacht.⁵⁸ During the clan days their great possessions covered the northern part of what is now the county of Londonderry and extended into Antrim. These princes of the Clan Owen were nobles of the first rank, who furnished 140 horse and 400 foot to O'Neill's hostings, or about four times the probable contingent supplied by the O'Devlins. The O'Cahans were especially distinguished for their desperate valor and heavy losses at the Battle of Downpatrick in 1260, when The O'Devlin and many other Clan Owen nobles were slain. The Book of Clandeboy enumerates similar rights and obligations of the O'Cahans to those that it assigns to the O'Devlins, in their relation with the common overlord, O'Neill, but for the O'Cahans both privileges and duties are on a larger scale. The relationship of the O'Cahans to the O'Devlins was very distant, their last common ancestor having been Fergal, a High-king of Ireland, who perished in battle with the Leinstermen in 722.⁵⁹

John O'Donovan wrote about a century ago, at a time when memories of the clan days were still extant among the Irish people. He travelled widely, and his Ordnance Survey Letters, from which the following passages are quoted, contain a miscellaneous assortment of facts and impressions jotted down in his notebook as he moved from place to place. His records of local traditions, which had been preserved orally from generation to generation, are partly historical and partly legendary. It seems probable that an actual instance of fosterage of an O'Cahan child by The O'Devlin constituted the kernel of truth in the following tale, while the details of the story are largely fictional. O'Donovan says: "Brollaghan tells the following tradition about Brackfield as he heard it from William O'Kane of Brackfield, who was foreman of a bleach green in Cavanreagh belonging to Mr. Stevenson of Fortwilliam. This William O'Kane died about fifteen years ago, aged about eighty.

"O'Kane of Breac-Mhagh (i.e. Spotted Field, now Brackfield) contracted with an Englishman of the name of Skipton to erect a castle for him for which he was to give him (Skipton) his choice of a townland in his (O'Kane's) portion of Oirecht Uí Chathain. Skipton built the castle,

and when it was finished, as payment he selected the very townland in which the castle stood. But this would not do. O'Kane would not give it, but seized upon Skipton and beheaded him, and then took possession of the castle, which it is said he enjoyed not long when the O'Kanes were totally defeated and expelled from their country. The O'Kane who had this castle erected was called Manus Gallda or Manus the Anglicized, because he spoke the English language and had an English castle erected.

"Very little more is known of him. The following wild story is told about his son who was fostered in Muintir Dhebhallen (Montrevlin),⁶⁰ a level district stretching along the borders of Lough Neagh in the southern part of the county of Londonderry.

"One night when the Dalta (alumnus) [i.e. foster child] had grown up to be fit to bear arms and a short time before he returned to the house of his father, three robbers made an attack upon the house of his foster-father (supposed to be Devlin).⁶¹ As soon as Devlin had heard their efforts to force in his door he awoke his Dalta and told him that the house was under attack by three robbers. 'And now, my Dalta,' said Devlin, 'whether do you wish to fight one or two?' 'I'll fight one,' said O'Kane. Devlin rushed out and dispatched the three latros before his Dalta had time to dress himself, who, when he went out found that he had no one to encounter. 'Now, my Dalta,' said Devlin, 'as you have not given me any assistance in cutting off these robbers will you watch the bodies until morning, when we will inter them?' Upon which Devlin went to bed and young O'Kane wrapped himself up in his cloak to stay for the night, but he had not been there long when he heard the wails of three banshees at a great distance and their voice was approaching nearer and nearer. O'Kane now wished to deceive the banshees; he removed the bodies from the position in which they laid and lay down himself as if he had been slain with them. He had not been long in this situation when the three banshees came up and commenced to examine the bodies. O'Kane heard them say that the bodies had been moved. They came over to him and said: 'Here lies O'Kane's son dead too, although the destinies declared that he should be killed in Scotland.' They then commenced to lament the deaths of the slain men and continued to wring their hands, occasionally combing their tresses, which flowed to the ground, until the cock crew, and then disappeared immediately. In the morning O'Kane told his foster-father all that he had heard from the banshees." [From the viewpoint of the O'Cahans and the O'Devlins, the nocturnal assailants in this tale would be "robbers", but the appearance of three banshees to mourn their death is a sure sign that they were no common highwaymen, but men of good lineage who were probably engaged in a retaliatory raid against an hereditary and evidently formidable enemy. As William Butler Yeats says in Irish Fairy and Folk Tales (p. 116), the banshee is "an attendant fairy that follows the old families and none but them. . . . When more than one banshee is present and they wail and sing in chorus, it is for the death of some holy or great one."]

"Soon after young O'Kane went home to his father, Manus of Brackmoy, and lived there some time. One day he went towards Derry, and stood upon a bank of sand that lay upon O'Kane's side of the Foyle to take a view of the walls of the new English garrison, but as he was coming down his foot slipped and his brains were dashed out on a stone.

A crowd of English people soon collected around him and said that Manus, his father, would accuse them of murdering him, and come with all his clan to take revenge for it. Manus soon got word of what had happened, and went down to the Foyle and there found his son killed. He made every enquiry about the manner in which his death had occurred, and was soon convinced that the English had no hand in it. . . He made enquiry about the heap of sand and was told that it was ballast of a ship from Scotland. This brought the story of the banshees immediately to his recollection and he said: 'When my son had not gone to the destined sod of his death, the sod of his death had come to him.' [The year of young O'Kane's death was 1600, when the English built a fort on the site of what is now the city of Londonderry, during their war with Hugh O'Neill.]

In 1535, the twenty-sixth year of Henry VIII's reign, "Silken Thomas", Earl of Kildare, was seized by the English and sent to the Tower of London. The Annals of Ulster also state: "O'Devlin, namely John, died this year of fever."⁶² The note by the editor remarks that this was the Chief, as indicated by the surname preceding the Christian name.

During the clan days various titles of nobility were granted to Irish chiefs, in accordance with their wealth. Since riches are seldom static, the chiefs rose and declined in rank as their possessions increased or decreased. As an example of such fluctuations, although The Annals of Ulster accord the title of king to one of the O'Hagans in the middle of the eleventh century, five hundred and fifty years later at the time of the Confiscations it would appear from the remarks of Sir Toby Caulfield that they were nobles of a secondary grade, on a par with their neighbors the O'Devlins in that respect. Inasmuch as no inventories of the wealth in Munterevlin before the Confiscations have come down to us, we lack sufficient information to determine what rank or ranks the chiefs of that territory held during the centuries of their rule. Aire túise, meaning "noble of the first rank", was at one time the highest grade of nobility, but higher titles were later introduced, as in England marquess and duke were added to the former highest title of earl.⁶³ From what we know concerning the size of The O'Devlin's jurisdiction, and of his position of "true kern", it appears certain that he must have been at least an aire túise, and probable that, at one time or another, he occupied a higher rank. Seeing that the various grades of nobility differed rather in the amount than in the kind of display which they affected, a description of the manner of living of an aire túise should give us an approximate conception of the pomp and ceremony expected of one in The O'Devlin's position.

"The aire tuisse was lord of twenty-seven clients, fifteen of vassalage and twelve free, from which he had as house-custom summer food, and in winter four cows and five steers and six yearlings, with their fixed 'accompaniment' of bacon, malt, wheat and other provisions... The aire tuisse, and the ranks above him could become clients to none less than a king. . . Apparently he went in state with his twelve glittering horse bridles, one of them gold, the others of silver. He had free clients for his company, a retinue of eight in the tuath [home territory] and six in private. He had not to beg for fighting men since by his full claim he could levy from his own following. At home he had deer-hounds for himself and lap-dogs for his wife. In his house of twenty-nine feet he had proper sets of furniture, eight beds and six couches,

both cushions and rugs and irons and bronze vessels, and a cauldron worthy of his state which would hold a beef and a bacon hog."⁶⁴ The extent to which a chief enjoyed the above described kind of life, to which he was in theory entitled, naturally depended on conditions in the section where he lived.

Although in the latter days of the clan era the O'Devlins were surpassed in riches, and probably in rank, by such gallowglass septs as the MacDonnells,⁶⁵ they must have enjoyed a considerable prestige by reason of their ancient lineage, as representatives of a Clan Owen descent senior to that of the O'Neills themselves. It was probably because of such prestige, rather than on account of their wealth or power, that the O'Devlins were selected as foster-parents for children of the O'Neills of Tyrone, the O'Neills of Clandeboey and the O'Cahans. Perhaps the situation of Munterevlin, with these three main branches of the Clan Owen respectively on its south, east and north, may also have provided The O'Devlin with a political importance that he might not otherwise have possessed.

Among the Irish the chief was known and addressed simply as O'Devlin, and the same custom prevails at the present day in addressing those who still bear Milesian titles. John O'Donovan says: "In all official documents the chief used the surname only, Misi Ó Neill, 'I am O'Neill,' like the King of Spain's 'Yo el Rey'. In conversation, also, the surname only was used..."⁶⁶ Among the English it was the custom to prefix the definite article, as The O'Devlin. Junior members of the family prefixed their Christian name to the surname, as Tiernan O'Devlin.

The king or chief was always elected from the close relatives of a deceased ruler. The freemen of the clan or sept were theoretically the electors, but the real choice seems to have been made by an inner circle of the leading nobility, at least when a king was chosen. After the choice had been made, the result was proclaimed to the clansmen for their ratification. According to a regulation dating from pagan days, the ruler must be free from all bodily deformities or blemishes. As we have seen, the great king Cormac mac Art was compelled to relinquish the throne to his son after losing his eye, such being the popular prejudice against a ruler with that kind of disfiguration. It is evident, however, that such a rule did not apply at the time of which we are speaking or Conn the "Halt" could not have been O'Neill. Neither did the elective principle persist much after this time, since the English system of primogeniture was adopted and is still in force for such Milesian titles as have survived to this day. The revenue of the king or chief was derived partly from "mensal" land, which he held by right of his office and which passed to his successor. The ruler also received subsidies of various kinds from his clansmen, and might have private land of his own.⁶⁷

Writing in 1882, Sir Bernard Burke states that Milesian titles extant in Ireland at that time were:⁶⁸ The O'Grady of Kilballyowen, The MacGillicuddy of the Reeks, The O'Donoghue of the Glens, The O'Donovan of Clan Cathal, The O'Conor Don, The MacDermott Roe and The MacDermott, Prince of Coolavin, the last a unique example of the survival of a Milesian princely title. These titles are all included in Burke's Landed Gentry of Ireland, 1912, with the addition of a Leinster title that had been revived - The O'Morchoe of Oulartleigh, reassumed by "deed poll" in 1895.⁶⁹

With the exception of The MacDermott Roe, all the above mentioned titles were confirmed to their holders by the Genealogical Office, in 1945, and the following were also allocated by that office as purely courtesy titles, by right of seniority, to the present heads of their respective septs: The Fox, The O'Callaghan, The O'Neill (of Clandeboy), The O'Toole, The O'Kelly, The O'Brien, and The O'Donnell of Tyrconnell. Of the fourteen chiefs recognized by the Genealogical Office, nine are residents of Ireland, two of England, and one each of France, Spain and Portugal.⁷⁰ In spite of a population of Irish descent larger than that of the home country itself, the United States is not represented in this list, although there must be heads of Milesian septs on this side of the Atlantic who may be ignorant of, or indifferent to, their claims. Besides the titles mentioned above, others have been assumed in recent times which, although constituting an interesting and romantic bond with a remote past, are of doubtful authenticity.⁷¹

With the exceptions noted in the cases of the O'Neills⁷² and the O'Donnells,⁷³ all other Ulster titles are extinct. After the Confiscations of the seventeenth century the Ulster chiefs and their families were either driven into exile or often, having lost their land, became so impoverished as eventually to merge with the peasantry. In his *Vicissitudes of Families*, Sir Bernard Burke gives some vivid accounts of the downfall of these Milesian chiefs. It is possible that the title - The O'Devlin of Munterevlin - may be revived some day, but this is not likely, since the records of descent from the last chief have probably been lost during the centuries that have elapsed since the Confiscations.

In the year 1539 The Annals of Ulster have the following entry: "More was done this year, to wit; Cormac MacUidhir [Maguire], the unique son of a king that, of those who were in the same time as he, was best of hand and nobleness, was slain by his own retinue, namely by Cobhthach Mac Samradhain [Coffey MacGovern] and by the Muintir-Dobhilen [People of Devlin] and by the descendants of Philip, the twenty-sixth day of the month of April."

This is the same Cormac Maguire who was "taken in treachery" by Felim the "Devlinite" and others seven years before this date, but the incident is mystifying. The annals proceed, as is their custom, to relate other events, without throwing any more light on this crime.

"Unique" apparently refers to the prince's transcendent qualities, but why such a noble man should have been slain by his own retinue and even, as The Annals of the Four Masters relate, in the presence of his own brethren, is not explained.⁷⁴ From what we learn of it, the situation in the Maguire dynasty at this time must have been extremely complicated. We obtain a glimpse of a dark conspiracy, culminating in fratricide, that might have furnished the plot for a Shakespearean tragedy, but for the annalists, who give little but headlines, it was one of many items for the year under consideration, which they record perfunctorily, with the usual stereotyped panegyric. Such events may have been later enlarged upon by the poets.

The reference to the People of Devlin is at first sight puzzling. Their stay in Fermanagh seems to have been temporary, whatever may have been the reason for their presence there, since the surname Devlin is now rare in that county. They were probably a group of adventurers engaged as mercenaries in factional warfare among the Maguires. In fact The Annals of Ulster say that three years before his death this

same Cormac Maguire, with two of his brothers, had joined with one of the O'Neills (Niall O'Neill, junior) in two attacks on The Maguire, their father. This O'Neill could have had O'Devlins with him in this venture, some of whom may have remained in Fermanagh as a part of Cormac's bodyguard.

In the civil wars of the Maguires members of the Clan Owen took part indifferently on either side, wherever pay was offered for their services. When Owen O'Neill the Red was captured by Art O'Neill, the latter delivered him to The Maguire, who had him summarily hanged. Cormac Maguire's associate, Niall O'Neill, junior, later joined O'Donnell, overlord of the Maguires, in a "hosting" into Connaught. All the O'Neills mentioned were evidently professional soldiers, each of whom probably came to Fermanagh as leader of a military force. At this time the Maguires seem to have been little concerned with the clan affiliations of these condottieri.

That the People of Devlin who took part in Cormac's assassination were military adventurers is all the more likely since the Maguires are described as especially unskilled in the use of arms, having the reputation of being "the worst swordsmen in the North." For this reason they are said to have habitually engaged mercenary troops from neighboring territories, a policy which might indicate that this sept had lost personal enthusiasm for the petty raiding and endless warfare to which their ancestors had committed them. The Maguires seem to have been distinguished rather for cultural than military excellence, if there is any truth in this criticism of their martial attainments. It certainly did not apply to that beau sabreur Hugh Maguire, last Prince of Fermanagh, who was famous both for his daring exploits and for the military acumen which gained for him the victory in so many engagements during the Nine Years War. That the Maguires were highly cultured for their time, is shown by the patronage which they extended to bards and historians. The Annals of Ulster were largely compiled at their court (Belleisle in Lough Erne) and, besides the poem by O'Higgins given in the text, there is extant a famous lament composed by Eochaidh O'Mussey in 1600, called Ode to Maguire, in which he mourns the exile and sufferings of his chief.

"King" as applied to Maguire, who ruled in what is now the county of Fermanagh, is a translation of ri, a title borne by numerous chiefs whose power, and the extent of their jurisdiction, varied greatly; from the petty ruler of a tuath to the great provincial kings in earlier times, and the ard-ri, or high-king, himself. Since many of them founded families and supplied patronymics for their descendants, an impression has been created that all the Milesian Irish claim kings in their lineage, which is by no means universally true, although on account of the Irish system of hereditary land tenure and the favoritism practised by royal houses in creating appanages for their "eligibles", large families and many descendants were generally assured to those of royal ancestry, in the clan days. Looking back on the days of the Gaelic ascendancy Duald MacFirbis, the seventeenth century genealogist, remarks: "It is a usual thing in the case of great princes when their children and their families multiply, that their clients and followers are squeezed out, wither away and are wasted." Even after the loss of their hereditary lands the Milesian aristocracy displayed an exceptional ability to survive adverse conditions under which the plebeians perished. The latter

have left so few descendants that a genuine Milesian plebeian surname is now a comparative rarity. So numerous were the offspring of Milesian aristocracy in later times, and so reduced in economic and social position, that claims to distinction because of their lineage became ridiculous, their position resembling that of Russian "princes" under the Czars, whose titles finally came to hold little or no social significance, simply indicating as they did a remote descent from a landed proprietor of Viking origin.

In 1540, the year following Cormac's death, one of the Maguires was leader in a raid during which Domnall O'Devlin (Ua Doibhilein) and others were hanged, and several killed, including two MacGoverns, but not the Coffey (Cobhthach) MacGovern mentioned as one of those who participated in Cormac's assassination.⁷⁵ The land of the MacGoverns, a branch of the Connachta, lay in Cavan, south of Maguire's territory in Fermanagh.

Life in the Ireland of those days must have somewhat resembled that of the frontier in America during Indian times. The great Irish epic, the Táin, has as its theme the wars occasioned in the first century B.C. by the "Cattle Spoiling of Cooley", and we hear of continual raids during the following sixteen hundred years, either for the purpose of securing booty or of obtaining vengeance for past wrongs, many of them centuries old. In this particular case, however, these hangings and killings may have been a retaliation for the part that the People of Devlin, and their associates the MacGoverns, took in the assassination of Cormac Maguire in the previous year; but the annalist may not have approved of this possibly indiscriminating attack on the MacGoverns, since he speaks well of the two members of that sept who were killed in this raid.

From the account that we have of Maguire's court, he appears to have lived in state, as head of one of the greater Ulster septs. Teigue O'Higgins, the blind Hereditary Poet of Maguire, describes The Maguire's household at this period as follows:

"From afar the blithe uproar of the chase greeted him, wolf dog and greyhound in field and wood and the horses trying their speed. By the mansion the masts of the Lough Erne flotilla stood as a grove along the shore. The courtyard thronged with gentlemen of the Clan Colla who dispensed largesse; the hall crowded with minstrels and poets; ladies and their women in another room embroidered rare tissues and wove golden webs; of wrights a whole regiment is there - of artificers also that finish beakers - of smiths that forge weapons; mantles and rugs are taking a crimson stain, swords are tempered to a right blue, spearheads riveted to shafts; 'pledges' are enlarged, others again brought in; gallant men hurt are tended by the leech, brave men uninjured are being damaged. Part of the day was spent in listening to romances, in comparing genealogies; there was drinking and music; and so much to see and hear that the full day seemed but an hour till at even they sat in due order for supper. Fighting men were to be seen on all sides, pervading all the house; as they sat in their own quarters each man's arms hung ready above his head, for those were the days of fear."⁷⁶

There is here something of the charm, and also the sense of impending doom that are often found in dying civilizations, like that of the old South before the Civil War in the United States. Similar sights to

those described could have been observed where The O'Devlin lived, since every Irish chief, of whatever grade, maintained a miniature court like that of a king,⁷⁷ although in Munterevlin naturally on a smaller scale and with less splendor displayed than at the court of a wealthy ruler like Maguire.

Sir Toby Caulfield describes the O'Hagans as being one of the four septs, including the O'Devlins, that the Irish called "horsemen". The land of the O'Hagans adjoined that of the O'Devlins on the west, where O'Hagan, as Hereditary Brehon, inaugurated O'Neill. Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, was inaugurated at Tullaghoge in 1595 when he re-assumed his ancient Milesian title, after engaging in an insurrection against the English queen, Elizabeth. This was the last inauguration generally recognized as authentic, although Sir Phelim O'Neill was inaugurated by one of the O'Hagans at Tullaghoge in 1642, in the second year of his rebellion. This inauguration, however, carried less weight, because a generation had already elapsed since the overthrow of the clan system, and in the interval clan solidarity had been weakened, if not altogether destroyed. Even as late as the middle of the eighteenth century, we hear of the revival of a ceremony that at one time had meant so much in the life of Ulster. John O'Hart says that "on May eve, 1766, Richard O'Neill was inaugurated in the old Rath at Tullaghoge, west of Lough Neagh in Tyrone, by The O'Hagan, who was then reduced to indigence."⁷⁸

John O'Donovan says: "The site of the ancient residence of O'Hagan is to be seen on a gentle eminence a short distance to the east of the village of Tullaghoge. It is a large circular encampment, surrounded by deep trenches of earthen work. Within these stood the residence of O'Hagan, the rechtaire or Lawgiver of Tullaghoge, and here also was placed the stone on which O'Neill was made, till it was destroyed. According to the tradition of the country O'Hagan inaugurated O'Neill by putting on his golden slipper or sandal and hence the sandal always appears in the armorial bearings of the O'Hagans. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy remained here for some time in 1602 and broke in pieces the stone on which O'Neill was made, but it is said that pieces of it were to be seen in the orchard belonging to the glebe house till the year 1776, when the last fragment of it was carried away."⁷⁹ The Rev. C. P. Meehan, writing in 1868, says: "The O'Hagans are still to be found in the neighborhood of Tullaghoge, where they were once, as the bards sang, 'Strong chief rulers-lords of fair avenues'; and with the traditional reverence of the old Celtic race for the burial-place of their fathers they to this day inter in the ancient cemetery of Donaghrisk."⁸⁰ It is interesting to note that the family of O'Hagan, the Lawgiver, kept up its connection with the law long after the times of which we are speaking. The first Baron O'Hagan of Tullaghoge died in 1885. This distinguished jurist, who took his title from the ancestral seat of his family, was twice Lord Chancellor of Ireland. He purchased the field at Tullaghoge in which O'Hagan's fort had stood before the Confiscations, to preserve this historic spot as a family memorial.⁸¹

Besides their duties as Hereditary Brehons, the O'Hagans were also associated with the O'Quinns as Hereditary Chief Stewards to O'Neill. According to The Book of Clandeboy, O'Hagan received only one-third of the income from this office, while two-thirds went to O'Quinn, allegedly because the O'Quinns were said to have been better

represented than were the O'Hagans at the Battle of the Red Spears in 1241, when the MacLoughlins were finally defeated, or at least to have penetrated in greater force to the place where The MacLoughlin fought when he received his deathblow. If true, this story recalls the memory of a bitter hatred towards the MacLoughlins that resulted in the killers of their king receiving a bounty like that set on the head of a wolf. Such an explanation, however, may have been concocted long after the battle to account for a difference concerning which the real reason had been forgotten before The Book of Clondeboy was written.

The O'Quinns were another of the four septs, including the O'Devlins, whom Sir Toby Caulfield classifies as "horsemen". On a map prepared by Philip MacDermott for Owen Connellan's edition of The Annals of the Four Masters, the O'Quinns are shown as owning land in Londonderry, north of the O'Devlin country, and likewise a tract in southern Tyrone. According to The Book of Clondeboy, an ancestor of the O'Quinns, known by the engaging cognomen of "the Sprightly", received from Muirchertach mac Erca, in the sixth century, for himself and his descendants the privilege of being interred in cemeteries reserved for High-kings of Ireland. This special right was allegedly a mark of distinction accorded by Muirchertach for assistance rendered to him in one of his campaigns.

O'Neill was inaugurated on a stone in the same manner as were the high-kings, in ancient times, on the "stone of destiny" at Tara. When Kenneth MacAlpin, a Milesian Irish king, and ancestor of the O'Devlins through his daughter,⁸² established the Celtic dynasty in Scotland during the ninth century, he continued this ancient Irish custom. He and his successors were inaugurated on the famous stone at Scone. This stone was afterwards carried to London by Edward I, where for many centuries it remained under the seat of the coronation chair in Westminster Abbey, until recently carried off by Scottish Nationalists. The acts of Edward I, and of the Lord Deputy Mountjoy, when he broke the stone on which O'Neill was inaugurated, were both intended to symbolize the downfall of the native dynasties and the dominion of the English monarchs as their successors.

The inauguration of O'Neill must have made an imposing pageant, accompanied as it was by the music of harps, the display of banners and the cheers of the assembled clansmen. On a tree crowned hill at Tullaghoge were four stones in the shape of a chair. The stone forming the seat, on which O'Neill probably stood during a part of the ceremony, may have been brought from Ailech, where the heads of the Clan Owen were "made" in former times. The original inauguration stone at Ailech was said to have been blessed by St. Patrick himself, when he visited that fortress in the fifth century, and it seems unlikely that so revered a relic would have been left behind when the Clan Owen rulers moved their inauguration site to Tullaghoge.

After the laws were read to O'Neill by O'Hagan, and the bell of St. Patrick was rung, the church's blessing was bestowed on the new chief. The Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of All Ireland, is mentioned as officiating at the inauguration of O'Neill in 1455. According to John O'Donovan the famous bell above referred to "was willed by St. Patrick to one of his disciples. It is mentioned in The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick. . ." In the clan days it was kept in the church of Donaghmore about six miles southwest of Tullaghoge, and was brought to the

inauguration ceremony by its joint guardians, the O'Mellons and the O'Mulhollans. Since it was a hand-bell, "tinkle" might be a better word for its sound than "ring". In O'Donovan's time the bell was preserved in Mr. Petrie's Cabinet of Antiquities, but it is now in the National Museum, Dublin. Among objects of its kind only the Liberty Bell, in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, can compare with it as a national relic.

It was the office of O'Cahan, as a token of prosperity and good luck, "to cast the shoe over O'Neill," which apparently refers to the act of throwing away the discarded shoe when the ceremonial slipper was put on by O'Hagan.⁸³ Bestowing the white wand was the hereditary office of another sept. The straight white wand was supposed to typify the pure and even justice that the ruler must administer. According to tradition, as we have seen, O'Devlin was the Sword-bearer; O'Hagan and O'Quinn were Chief Stewards; MacDonnell was High-constable of Ulster; O'Donnelly was Marshal; MacWard was historian; while MacNamee and O'Gnive (Agnew) were Poets.⁸⁴ The foregoing, and heads of other leading septs, such as the O'Mellons and O'Mulhollans, guardians of the Bell of St. Patrick, and the MacCawells and Mac-Murroughs, associates of the O'Devlins as "true kerns", may have been assigned parts in the inauguration of O'Neill, but if they were, no details of such participation have come down to us.

Similar titles and honorary functions to those above described were common in medieval courts throughout Europe. A Connaught ruler had not only a hereditary physician, master of the horse, standard-bearer, brehon, and professor in history and poetry but even a hereditary keeper of the bees. The last title indicates the essentially rural character of Irish culture during the clan days, when the Brehon Law specified "what fine was to be paid in the case of one person's cat stealing milk from another person's house, what fine in the case of one woman's bees stinging another woman, a careful distinction being preserved in the case in which the sting did or did not draw blood!"⁸⁵

In the year 1540, The Annals of Ulster relate: "Graine Junior, daughter of O'Higgins, namely, wife of Felim O'Devlin, died this year." She was a daughter of a chief of the bardic family of O'Higgins which, like the O'Dalys and the MacNamees, had representatives at the courts of many Irish rulers. The sept of O'Higgins belonged to the southern branch of the Descendants of Niall and were originally seated in Westmeath; consequently their last common ancestor with the O'Devlins was Niall of the Nine Hostages (died 405). One branch of this sept were poets at Maguire's court, where Teigue O'Higgins composed the poem previously quoted.

The Annals of Loch Cé, which were compiled at the end of the sixteenth century for MacDermott, Chief of Moylurg, in Connaught, record the death of Domnall Oge C'Devlin⁸⁶ in 1584, forty-four years after the last entry in The Annals of Ulster. This was the year in which Sir John Perrott was appointed Deputy of Ireland by Queen Elizabeth, and the year following Sir Walter Raleigh's expedition to America (Roanoke Island). Oge means "junior", so that this may very well have been the son of the Domnall O'Devlin who was hanged by the Maguires in 1540. As his death is coupled in the same sentence with that of a Maguire, it is possible that the annalist may have had some such connection in his mind. Since the Maguires were adherents of the O'Donnells, and the O'Devlins were followers of the O'Neills, they were

engaged in the centuries of intermittent warfare between their respective leaders.

In the interval between the last two entries regarding the O'Devlins, much had occurred in which they must have been vitally concerned. In 1542 Conn the "Halt" had relinquished the title of O'Neill and had received that of Earl of Tyrone from Henry VIII. This change of titles, however, did not affect his jurisdiction in his own territory, where he continued to rule as before. An example of the shifting alliances of that period, and the indifference often displayed to even the closest family ties, is the war which in 1550 broke out between Conn and his two sons, Shane the "Proud" and Matthew, known as Baron of Dungannon. The latter was presented to Conn the "Halt" as his son by Alison Kelly, wife of a Dundalk blacksmith, but since this was not done until the boy was sixteen, and after her husband's death, many of his contemporaries, including Shane O'Neill, were convinced that Matthew was in reality the blacksmith's son and not even left-handedly of O'Neill lineage. Shane remarked that his father's love affairs had been so numerous, and his disposition was so easy-going, that he would readily recognize as his own any child represented to him as such by a woman who had enjoyed his favor.⁸⁷ The position of Matthew's famous son, Hugh O'Neill, was weakened because of these uncertainties concerning his father's descent.

In 1551-1552 the English invaded Tyrone, but "gained no victory and obtained no spoils." In 1557 there was a war between Shane and O'Donnell. On Conn's death in 1559, the English recognized his alleged son Matthew as Earl of Tyrone, but his other son Shane was inaugurated by his clansmen at Tullaghoge as O'Neill. In conformity with the Irish custom, Shane had been sent in fosterage with the O'Donnellys, so that in after life he used their name as a cognomen. In 1561 Shane went to England and appeared at Elizabeth's court, with his followers and gallowglasses in Irish costume. With their loose, wide-sleeved, saffron-colored tunics, and short, shaggy mantles thrown across their shoulders, their hair long and curling and clipped short above the eyes, the gallowglasses created as much of a sensation among the English courtiers as if they had come from the wilds of America. In spite of his outwardly cordial relations with the queen during his stay in England, on his return to Tyrone Shane resumed his wars with the English, and later with O'Donnell, by whom he was crushingly defeated in 1567. In that year he took refuge with MacDonnell, in Antrim, where he was killed in a quarrel at a banquet. His severed head was taken to Dublin and impaled on the battlements of Dublin Castle. There is evidence for the belief that the O'Devlins were especially devoted to Shane O'Neill, and that they regarded his descendants as the rightful claimants to the headship of the clan, rather than Hugh O'Neill, whom they appear to have supported with at least mental reservations during his war with the English. In his childhood Hugh O'Neill had been fostered by the O'Hagans and the O'Quinns, and it was to members of these septs that he showed especial favor in after years, a favor that may very well have aroused the jealousy of their neighbors the O'Devlins.⁸⁸

After Shane's death the aged Turlough Luineach was elected O'Neill, but the English recognized Brian, son of Matthew, as Earl of Tyrone, and, on his death, Hugh, another son of Matthew, first as Baron of Dungannon, and later as Earl of Tyrone. Hugh O'Neill was one of the most remarkable men that Ireland has produced. Born about 1550, he

spent most of his boyhood in England, where he had the opportunity of observing the advantages of unified nationalism. He saw that to gain what appears to have been his objective, the creation of an Irish nation, it would be necessary first to effect an understanding with his hereditary rivals in Ulster, the O'Donnells, and afterwards to secure the aid of some foreign power against the English. By a matrimonial alliance he obtained the backing of the young Clan Conall prince, Red Hugh O'Donnell, and later received promises of help from the Spanish king, Philip III.

In 1587 an English ship anchored in Lough Swilly, and Red Hugh O'Donnell, whose sister had married Hugh O'Neill, was invited on board to drink wine with the captain. With the chief of the Clan Conall in the cabin, the anchor was weighed, sails set, and the ship stood out to sea, bound for Dublin. On her arrival there Hugh was imprisoned in Dublin Castle. There he remained until 1591 when, with his fellow prisoner Art, son of Shane O'Neill, he escaped from the castle in the dead of winter. After suffering great hardships, in the course of which Art was frozen to death, Hugh succeeded in reaching the stronghold of the Wicklow chief O'Byrne, where he was given a hearty welcome. On learning of his brother-in-law's escape, the Earl of Tyrone sent him an urgent message, pressing him to come to Tyrone before rejoining his family in Tyrconnell. According to tradition,⁸⁹ one of Hugh O'Neill's messengers on this occasion was an O'Devlin, who seems to have been attracted by the Wicklow country, or by one of its women, since later having to leave Tyrone, as the story goes because of persecutions resulting from fidelity to his chief, he repaired to Glenealy, near Wicklow, under the protection of O'Byrne of Ballicksinnan, and became the ancestor of that Wicklow branch of the Devlins who, in after years, were prominent in the Nationalist cause during the Rebellions of 1798 and 1803. Another tradition among the Wicklow Devlins relates that they came to Wicklow with some troops of Hugh O'Neill in 1598, to aid O'Byrne in his war with the English.⁹⁰ Members of this force are known to have settled permanently in Wicklow, and there may very well have been O'Devlins among them. The two traditions as to the origin of the Wicklow Devlins are by no means incompatible, and they both agree that the O'Devlins first appeared in that county during the last decade of the sixteenth century.

In 1595 warfare started between the English and the northern chiefs, O'Neill and O'Donnell. In a book of this nature it would hardly appear necessary to relate in detail the history of the Nine Years War, in whose varying changes of fortune the O'Devlins shared. Some of them must have been with O'Neill's forces when he won the victory at the Yellow Ford, near the southern shores of Lough Neagh and not far from the O'Devlins' territory. Although the greater part of O'Neill's army fought in linen tunics, using spears, javelins and axes against their adversaries' armor and firearms, this is said to have been the greatest disaster to English arms since the Norman invasion of Ireland four centuries earlier. Like the Gaelic clans of Scotland, the Irish in this battle are described as advancing in their victorious charge to the skirling of the bagpipes.

In addition to his qualities as a statesman, Hugh O'Neill possessed military ability of a high order. Henry IV of France, an expert in such matters, ranked him as third among the generals of his time. O'Neill's

cause was hopeless from the beginning, however, fighting as he did with a divided nation against the power that held the sea. Failing adequate assistance from Spain, his final defeat at Kinsale in 1601 was inevitable. For two years after this battle he held out in the woods and mountains of Ulster, conducting a guerrilla war, but was finally compelled to make his submission in 1603. He had been preceded in this action by other chiefs of the Clan Owen, O'Devlin having received his pardon in 1601, and O'Hagan in 1602.⁹¹

During the guerrilla war in Ulster the O'Devlin country suffered heavily, not so much in battle, apparently, as from the famine that ensued in Tyrone after the destruction of crops by the enemy. As early as 1600 the English repeatedly crossed Lough Neagh in boats and ravaged the country on its west bank up to the environs of Dungannon. In a letter from the Lord Deputy Mountjoy to the Lords of the Council in England, written after the devastation of Ulster during 1602, it is stated: "O'Hagan protested unto us that between Tullaghoge and Toome there lay unburied a thousand dead." A line drawn from Tullaghoge to Toome passes directly through Munterevlin. This frightful devastation in the O'Devlin territory may have been occasioned by the presence of Hugh O'Neill at that time in a stronghold either within or immediately adjacent to Munterevlin, since the earl is said to have established his headquarters in a "glen environed with woods, bogs and waters, forming an inaccessible fastness, and situated apparently in the southern part of Derry, towards the borders of Tyrone and Lough Neath."⁹²

Although it is apparent that the O'Devlins were participants in the Nine Years War, or there would have been no need for the chief and his followers to receive a pardon from the English, the fact that a sept which had been so intimately related by fosterage with the O'Neills in the previous generation had none of its members as leaders, either at the Battle of the Yellow Ford or at Kinsale,⁹³ as were their neighbors the O'Hagans, the O'Quinns and the O'Donnellys, might indicate that their relations with Hugh O'Neill were not of the best at this time. Another sign of a lack of devotion to his cause may be seen in the date of The O'Devlin's pardon, which preceded that of The O'Hagan by a year and that of Hugh O'Neill by two. Moreover after the Flight of the Earls, O'Devlin appears as a member of the Grand Jury set up by the English and later is granted two townlands on lease in the Ulster Plantation. We know that many of the Clan Owen regarded Hugh O'Neill as an usurper, not even an O'Neill by blood, who had deprived Shane O'Neill's descendants of their rightful claim to headship of the clan. Since it was to these opponents of the earl that the English showed especial consideration after the Earl of Tyrone's downfall, it appears likely that the O'Devlins, or at any rate their chief and his immediate kinsmen, belonged to this faction.

At first Hugh O'Neill and Rory O'Donnell, the new Chief of the Clan Conall, were treated with leniency. The former was confirmed in his title Earl of Tyrone and Rory O'Donnell was created Earl of Tyrconnell. As late as 1605, the Lord Deputy Mountjoy said of O'Cahan, one of the principal subsidiary chiefs of the Clan Owen: "O'Kane must and shall be under O'Neill. The peace of the North dependeth on my Lord Tyrone." But as a result of mutual suspicions between the English authorities and the earls, the latter, fearful of plots against their lives or freedom, resolved to escape from Ireland. The English chose to

interpret the Flight of the Earls in 1607 as a manifest confession of rebellious intentions on their part. The two earls were declared traitors, their titles were forfeited, and not only their own estates, but also those of their clansmen, were confiscated by the English Crown. Settlers were brought from England and Scotland to occupy the forfeited territory, which constituted the Ulster Plantation of James I. Thus the O'Devlins were deprived of their hereditary property of Munterevlin at the time when the English were establishing their first permanent settlement (at Jamestown, Virginia, 1607) in a country where so many of the family later sought refuge from conditions prevailing in Ireland.

The earls found shelter and support in Rome, where as champions of the Catholic religion they were received with honors by the Pope and granted pensions. Both earls died in Rome, and were buried in the church of San Pietro in Montorio on the Janiculan Hill, where their tombs may still be seen.⁹⁴

Referring to the origin of Tyrone's Rebellion John O'Hart says:⁹⁵ "According to the popular belief, the Banshee or Guardian Spirit of the House of Conn of the Hundred Battles, night after night in the Castle of Dungannon, upbraided Hugh O'Neil for having accepted the Earldom of Tyrone, bestowed on him by Queen Elizabeth. . . Hence the earl did afterwards assume the name of O'Neill, and therewith he was so elated that he would often boast that he would rather be O'Neill of Ulster than King of Spain."

In early times the possession of a banshee (i.e. "woman from the fairy hills"⁹⁶) was a distinction confined to families of royal origin and of the pure Milesian blood, probably because of a belief in pagan days that such families were descendants of gods or demigods who had formed earthly unions with their ancestors and were thus in closer touch with the other world. At the time of which we are speaking, however, some of the Anglo-Irish families, such as the Fitzgeralds, who, although they could lay no claims to gods in their ancestry, had become "more Irish than the Irish themselves", as the English complained, were also supposed to possess family banshees.⁹⁷

The principal interest of this tale about the O'Neill banshee lies in its revelation of the enormous stretches of time that the imagination of that age encompassed. Their hereditary genealogists reckoned the descent of Milesian kings and chiefs by milleniums rather than by centuries. John O'Donovan says:⁹⁸ "There are still extant several poems addressed to Turlough Luineach [predecessor of Hugh O'Neill as O'Neill] inciting him to shake off the English yoke and become monarch like his ancestors Niall Frasach [Niall of the Showers, eighth century], Niall of the Nine Hostages [fourth century], Conn of the Hundred Battles [second century] and Tuathal Teachtmhar [first century], whose lineal heir he is stated to be, and whose example he is encouraged to follow." Families of foreign extraction were regarded as mushroom growths by the Milesians. It is said that Hugh O'Neill (who appears personally to have entertained no doubts concerning the validity of his descent from the royal stock) on being told that the Welsh family of Barrett had occupied Castlemone for four hundred years, remarked of the owner that "he hated the clown as if he had come but yesterday."⁹⁹ Seldom in the course of history has such lofty pride suffered so great a fall. At the time of his overthrow, O'Neill was supposed to be accompanied by a spirit that had guarded the destinies of the Progeny of Conn from the

the first of these is the fact that the
 second of these is the fact that the
 third of these is the fact that the
 fourth of these is the fact that the
 fifth of these is the fact that the
 sixth of these is the fact that the
 seventh of these is the fact that the
 eighth of these is the fact that the
 ninth of these is the fact that the
 tenth of these is the fact that the
 eleventh of these is the fact that the
 twelfth of these is the fact that the
 thirteenth of these is the fact that the
 fourteenth of these is the fact that the
 fifteenth of these is the fact that the
 sixteenth of these is the fact that the
 seventeenth of these is the fact that the
 eighteenth of these is the fact that the
 nineteenth of these is the fact that the
 twentieth of these is the fact that the
 twenty-first of these is the fact that the
 twenty-second of these is the fact that the
 twenty-third of these is the fact that the
 twenty-fourth of these is the fact that the
 twenty-fifth of these is the fact that the
 twenty-sixth of these is the fact that the
 twenty-seventh of these is the fact that the
 twenty-eighth of these is the fact that the
 twenty-ninth of these is the fact that the
 thirtieth of these is the fact that the
 thirty-first of these is the fact that the
 thirty-second of these is the fact that the
 thirty-third of these is the fact that the
 thirty-fourth of these is the fact that the
 thirty-fifth of these is the fact that the
 thirty-sixth of these is the fact that the
 thirty-seventh of these is the fact that the
 thirty-eighth of these is the fact that the
 thirty-ninth of these is the fact that the
 fortieth of these is the fact that the
 forty-first of these is the fact that the
 forty-second of these is the fact that the
 forty-third of these is the fact that the
 forty-fourth of these is the fact that the
 forty-fifth of these is the fact that the
 forty-sixth of these is the fact that the
 forty-seventh of these is the fact that the
 forty-eighth of these is the fact that the
 forty-ninth of these is the fact that the
 fiftieth of these is the fact that the
 fifty-first of these is the fact that the
 fifty-second of these is the fact that the
 fifty-third of these is the fact that the
 fifty-fourth of these is the fact that the
 fifty-fifth of these is the fact that the
 fifty-sixth of these is the fact that the
 fifty-seventh of these is the fact that the
 fifty-eighth of these is the fact that the
 fifty-ninth of these is the fact that the
 sixtieth of these is the fact that the
 sixty-first of these is the fact that the
 sixty-second of these is the fact that the
 sixty-third of these is the fact that the
 sixty-fourth of these is the fact that the
 sixty-fifth of these is the fact that the
 sixty-sixth of these is the fact that the
 sixty-seventh of these is the fact that the
 sixty-eighth of these is the fact that the
 sixty-ninth of these is the fact that the
 seventieth of these is the fact that the
 seventy-first of these is the fact that the
 seventy-second of these is the fact that the
 seventy-third of these is the fact that the
 seventy-fourth of these is the fact that the
 seventy-fifth of these is the fact that the
 seventy-sixth of these is the fact that the
 seventy-seventh of these is the fact that the
 seventy-eighth of these is the fact that the
 seventy-ninth of these is the fact that the
 eightieth of these is the fact that the
 eighty-first of these is the fact that the
 eighty-second of these is the fact that the
 eighty-third of these is the fact that the
 eighty-fourth of these is the fact that the
 eighty-fifth of these is the fact that the
 eighty-sixth of these is the fact that the
 eighty-seventh of these is the fact that the
 eighty-eighth of these is the fact that the
 eighty-ninth of these is the fact that the
 ninetieth of these is the fact that the
 ninety-first of these is the fact that the
 ninety-second of these is the fact that the
 ninety-third of these is the fact that the
 ninety-fourth of these is the fact that the
 ninety-fifth of these is the fact that the
 ninety-sixth of these is the fact that the
 ninety-seventh of these is the fact that the
 ninety-eighth of these is the fact that the
 ninety-ninth of these is the fact that the
 hundredth of these is the fact that the

days of an ancestor who had died nearly fourteen hundred and fifty years ago. The event proved that the banshee's exhortations were extremely ill-advised, since the earl's revolt resulted in the ruin not only of the Progeny of Conn, but of the whole Milesian race, which for several centuries after this time suffered an almost total eclipse both economically and politically.

In The Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, under the date September, 1608, is the report of the Lord Deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, ancestor of the Marquesses of Donegal. Concerning the lands of the Clan Owen, he says: "The great sept of this county is come to the King by the attainder of the Earl of Tyrone and his sept, as the office doth appear. The chief septs of this county are the O'Neales [O'Neills], and under them the O'Donnoles [O'Donnellys], O'Hagganes [O'Hagans], O'Quynes [O'Quinns], O'Delvynes [O'Devlins], O'Corres [O'Corrs], the Claddonnells [MacDonnells], the Melans [O'Mellons], and other septs, which are warlike people and many in number and must be provided for or over-mastered, without which they will not be ruled nor removed." This is a sample of the seventeenth century anglicization of Irish surnames that has produced the present variety of forms in English.

The warlike character of the native Irish, to which reference is made, has always constituted an obstacle to attempted conquests of the country. Although the Romans occupied Britain for more than three centuries, they never tried to conquer the neighboring island, perhaps deterred from what would appear to have been a logical extension of their empire by the intractable reputation of its people. The Norse invaders never succeeded in making permanent settlements much beyond the coast, in contrast to their extensive seizures of land in England and in France; and the Normans, after their comparatively easy subjugation of the lethargic Anglo-Saxons, made slow headway in Ireland. Where they established themselves in the interior, they did so generally by discarding to a large extent their own culture and adopting that of their Irish neighbors. Even those great empire builders the English finally suffered as signal a setback in Ireland as they had in America.

Of the septs mentioned in Chichester's report, the O'Neills were the principal landowners throughout the territories over which they ruled directly. The locations of the O'Devlins, O'Hagans, O'Donnellys and O'Quinns have already been given. The MacDonnells were an Antrim sept of Scottish origin, but since they were gallowglasses, or professional soldiers, in the employ of the O'Neills, there were naturally some of them in the Earl of Tyrone's territory. In fact John O'Donovan states that they were assigned as headquarters the townland of Knockinclohy, which lies in the parish of Pomeroy, barony of Dunganannon.¹⁰⁰ The land of the O'Corrs, a surname often anglicized as Carr or Kerr, lay around Lissan, northwest of Muntereylin. According to John O'Donovan, Lissan is the English form of Lios Áine or Áine's Fort and was named for the banshee from whom the O'Corrs are supposed to be descended. Whenever one of them died she bewailed his death in the wild glen of Alt na Sion (Vale of Storms), adjacent to this fort. The keen, or funeral wail, of the Irish peasantry is said to be an imitation of the banshee's cry, which was supposedly expressed in a cadence that has been preserved in modern musical symbols.¹⁰¹ The persistence over so many centuries of a popular belief in manifestations that, in banshee-haunted families, should have been so easily

susceptible of periodical verifications, is in itself a strange enough phenomenon. (The O'Devlins, like their immediate neighbors the O'Neills and the O'Corrs, were also probably accompanied by a banshee, without whose attentions a sept of their lineage and position could hardly have maintained its proper standing in the community, but if they had one, no reports of her identity or activities have come down to us.) The land of the O'Mellons was in Donaghmore parish, about two miles north-west of Dungannon. They were at one time co-custodians with the O'Mulhollans of "The Bell of the Will, or Testament", previously spoken of in connection with the inauguration of O'Neill.¹⁰² Their most famous descendant was probably Andrew Mellon, Secretary of the United States Treasury and founder of the National Gallery of Art in Washington. All the above mentioned septs appear on a map prepared by Philip MacDermott for Owen Connellan's edition of The Annals of the Four Masters. Besides the locations given, some of these septs had branches owning property in other parts of the Clan Owen territory, but according to information so far available the O'Devlin holdings seem to have been concentrated in Munterevlin.

With the exception of the MacDonnells, all the septs spoken of in Chichester's report were more or less distantly related to the O'Devlins and, like them, belonged apparently to the lesser nobility. The upper grade of nobility under O'Neill were the semi-autonomous uriaghts who composed his council of state. In 1394 the only member of this council who was of Clan Owen descent was O'Cahan. The other members at that date were O'Hanlon (Clan Colla), MacMahon (Clan Colla), MacMurray (Connachta), Magennis (Ulidian), MacDonnell and MacCabe; the last two being Scottish gallowglass chiefs who maintained apparently spurious claims to a Clan Colla lineage.¹⁰³

In The Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, is also the following report by Sir Toby Caulfield, who was granted the former land of the O'Donnellys, west of Dungannon: "Collection of Tyrone's rents from his flight in 1607 till November 1610. First: There was no certain portion of lands let by the traitor Tyrone to any of his tenants that paid him rent. Secondly: Such rents as he reserved were paid to him partly in money and partly in provisions of victuals, such as oats, oatmeal, butter, hogs and mutton. Thirdly: The money rents that were so reserved were chargeable on all cows that were milch or in calf which grazed on his lands, after the rate of twelve pence a quarter the year, which cows were to be numbered twice in the year by Tyrone's officers, viz: at May and Hallowtide; and so the rents were levied and taken up at the said rate for all cows that were so numbered except only the heads and principal men of the creates¹⁰⁴ who in regard to their enabling to live better than the common multitude under them, whom they cause willingly to pay the said rents, were usually allowed a fourth part of the whole rents, which rise to three hundred pounds Irish by the year or thereabouts, which they detained in their own hands by direction of the Lord Deputy and so were never received; and for the butter and other victualling provisions they were only paid by such as they termed horsemen, called Quynnes [O'Quinns], Hangans [O'Hagans], Conelands [O'Connelans],¹⁰⁵ and Devlins [O'Devlins], which was rather at the discretion of the giver, who strove who should give most to gain Tyrone's favor, than for any due claim he had to demand the same." [We have less information about the O'Connelans, a sept of northern Tyrone

in or adjacent to the Sperrin Mountains, than we possess of the other septs that are classed as "horsemen". Rather than the O'Connelans, we should expect to find the better known O'Donnellys and O'Mellons included in this category, but at the time when he wrote this report Caulfield may have had some particular relations with the O'Connelans that brought them to his mind in this connection.]

Caulfield's report is of interest for several reasons. He gives the modern spelling of the surname, Devlin. This is rare in the seventeenth century, the usual anglicized form at that time being O'Develin, or some other three-syllable variant, using both the O' and a middle vowel. It was apparently Caulfield's purpose to establish as close a connection as possible between the attainted earl and the septs in his territory, in order to justify the confiscation of their land, which is probably the reason for his reference to their rivalry with each other in gaining Tyrone's favor. Since the attainder of the Earl of Tyrone affected his own land only, it was deemed necessary to establish separate evidence of rebellious activities in the case of the other septs. That those who were known as "horsemen" paid no rent to Tyrone, but simply made gifts to him at their discretion, would indicate to the English that they were freeholders who held title to their lands as component divisions of the Clan Owen and not as tenants of the O'Neills.

But Caulfield probably misunderstood the nature of this tribute, which is specified in The Book of Clandeboy as regularly due from the O'Devlins to O'Neill, in his official capacity as head of the clan. It was apparently not a rent, but something in the nature of a tax to the state as represented by one person under the clan system. In The Book of Clandeboy is the following (here translated from the Irish): "O'Neill's rights over the People of Devlin, i.e., meal for twenty loaves in the spring from every half-quarter of land, and a churning of butter with each loaf; and four panniers of malt in the spring, or a barrellful in each half-quarter of land, and a churning of milk per week; four pennies of Easter money in the half year, is the sum due from the People of Devlin."

The continued possession of Munterevlin for six hundred years would presuppose a superior title to this land than one of mere tenancy at the pleasure of the O'Neills. In fact if we consider the interrelationship of the Clan Owen's various divisions at the time when the territory of Munterevlin was probably established, it is at least doubtful if the O'Neills' ancestors were responsible for its original allotment to those of the O'Devlins. If the title to Munterevlin had not been of such a kind as to preclude eviction, it is probable that this property would have long since been seized by some victor in an O'Neill feud, against whom The O'Devlin of his time had fought, since during the many centuries of civil wars in the Clan Owen it would have been difficult, if not impossible, always to choose the winning side in advance.

CHAPTER III

SINCE THE CLAN DAYS

The English used various methods in dealing with the "warlike people" that Sir Arthur Chichester mentions in his report. The more recalcitrant, spoken of as "swordsmen", were "transported into the waste lands of Connaught and Munster, where they were dispersed and not planted together in one place."¹ It is possible that some of the very few Devlins now found in those provinces may be descendants of these "swordsmen" or "idle men", as they were called by the Tudor English. They were the relatives of Irish chiefs or kings for whom no provision of territory had been made. Their position was similar to that of the roistering and duelling younger sons of the French nobility in the time of Louis XIII, as described in contemporary memoirs and in the novels of Dumas. The People of Devlin previously spoken of as professional soldiers with the Maguires in Fermanagh were probably adventurers of this sort. Edmund Curtis says of the "swordsmen" (A History of Mediaeval Ireland, 2nd edition, p. 314): "Most of them perished prematurely in the feuds, the fightings, and the forays which they considered their *raison d'être*, the seniors of their own stock being delighted to diminish the numbers of dangerous rivals by fair means or foul. Still the number of fighting aristocrats was so great that it took the Tudor sovereigns a whole century before the swordsmen and their world were brought to an end."

Some of the Irish chiefs received regrants on lease of portions of their hereditary lands, or provision was made for them from other confiscated land. In The Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, under the date 1611, among the servitors and natives to whom land was leased in the barony of Dungannon, parish of Dissertagh (now Desertcreat), appears Brian O'Develin, described as "gentleman", who was assigned the townlands of Monigar and Knockfada, 120 acres, at a rental of 26 shillings yearly. This is evidently the "chief of his name", who received a pardon from the English authorities in 1601. A considerable number of native gentlemen were given such grants, but most of them received no more than one townland, i.e. about 60 acres. That Brian O'Develin was allotted twice the average grant indicates either that he was a person of some importance in the eyes of the authorities, or that he had done them some special service. The 120 acres was arable or pasture land only, since woodland and bog were thrown in for good measure, making a total of 402 acres.² The land thus leased to Brian O'Develin was not in the precinct of Mountjoy, where the hereditary O'Devlin property was situated, but in the adjoining Precinct of Dungannon; the reason for this change being the desire of the English to concentrate all Irish grantees in the latter precinct in an attempt to clear the Irish from the remaining parts of the county, which were assigned to foreign settlers. Among those receiving leases on land in the Precinct of Dungannon at this time were old associates of the O'Devlins such as the O'Neills, O'Hagans, O'Donnellys, O'Quinns, O'Corrs, O'Mellons, MacCawells and MacDonnells. Of sixty names in these leases, thirty-four received one townland, twelve received two townlands, and fourteen received more than two townlands.³

The Rev. George Hill, in An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster, p. 161, says that Brian O'Develyn was one of the twenty-four jurors "with few exceptions members from leading families or septs in Tyrone", whom the Commissioners of Plantation appointed to the inquisition held at Dungannon on Aug. 23, 1609, "to distinguish between the crown and ecclesiastical lands in Tyrone, and to determine the legal ownership of the termon and herenagh lands [i.e. church properties]" Hill further states: "These jurors were, in most instances, the same who had served in a similar capacity during the assize and survey held at Dungannon in the preceding autumn of 1608, when, as Davys afterwards stated in a letter to Salisbury, 'the O'Hagans, the Quinns, the Divilins, and the rest of the earl's followers, gave as diligent attention as they were wont when their fugitive master was present.'"

At these inquisitions it was determined by the jurors that the land of the outlawed Earl of Tyrone had been forfeited to the English Crown. In return for their obliging decisions at least one third of the jurors, including Brian O'Develin, were granted land on lease in the Precinct of Dungannon, which had been reserved for natives.

What seems at first sight a betrayal of their leader by the jurors, was perhaps not such an act of disloyalty as it would seem. Conditions in the Earl of Tyrone's territory were much more complicated than they are made to appear in many histories of those times, because of the intrinsic weaknesses of that clan system which even the commanding personality of Hugh O'Neill could not mould to his purposes. The following extract from Hill's book (p. 161) tends to explain, if not wholly excuse, the indifference of these jurors towards the fate of Tyrone, and their compliance with English desires.

"Davys does not represent this matter fairly; probably because he did not know the real state of affairs in Tyrone. The persons who thus diligently gave him their aid and attention as jurors had never been the Earl of Tyrone's followers, but on the contrary were always fiercely opposed to him, for in the late struggle, not only had O'Neills been pitted against each other, but O'Hagans also, O'Quinns and others. John Leigh, who was sheriff of Tyrone in 1608, has left a short record which is preserved among the Carew Manuscripts, and headed 'A Briefe of some things which I observed in the several baronies of the county of Tyrone'. From it we make the following extract explanatory of this matter: 'I observed that there are certain kindred or septs of the Neales, in divers parts of Tyrone, which ever did and still do, as much as in them lieth, oppose both against Tyrone and all those of his proper sept and party, namely in the barony of Strabane, Tyrloghe Oge O'Neale, son to Sir Arthur O'Neale, and all his followers and dependents, as well as of the Neales as of the Quinnes, and likewise of divers other septs on that [the Strabane] side of Slewseese. Also in the barony of O'Meaghe [Omagh] all that sept of the Neales called Sleughte Artes, do deadly hate Tyrone's sept. And likewise in the barony of Clougher, are two other distinct septs of the Neales who hate Tyrone and his sept; one of which septs are the sons of Shan O'Neale and their followers' (See Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts, 6th series, p. 30). On the foregoing jury list we find the first name (Henry McShane O'Neale) was that of Shane O'Neale's eldest son, and the second name (Tirlagh O'Neale) that of Sir Arthur O'Neale's eldest son, the other native jurors being no doubt the followers of these two leaders, and, therefore, friendly to the interests of the English party."

From these quotations, extracted from contemporary documents, it may be seen that, although the conduct of the last Chief of Munterevlin can hardly be described as patriotic from a nationalist point of view, it should be remembered that the clan system delayed the emergence of a feeling for the national interest, because its constituent divisions remained, for the most part, incapable of seeing anything beyond the immediate environment of hereditary hates and jealousies. In after years, when the clan system was no longer a hindrance to Irish political development, the Devlins furnished adherents to the national cause in practically all wars and rebellions.

The ex-chief of the People of Devlin did not long remain in possession of his leased land, since four years later, in 1615, this lease was purchased from him and his son, Brian O'Develin, Junior, by Dame Margerie Roe.⁴ The sale of land does not necessarily indicate a decline in wealth, since land can be sold for a profit, but for one whose principal assets, and those of his ancestors before him, had always been in land, livestock and crops, such a sale of landed property may have been the result of straitened circumstances. Mr. Terence Rafferty suggests that a conspiracy among the Irish in 1615 to make one of the sons of Hugh O'Neill chief of the clan, and perhaps to do away with the Ulster Plantation, may have had some connection with this sale.

As we have seen, when Andrew Stewart, Lord Ochiltree, was granted Munterevlin in 1610, he built a castle around which grew the town of Stewartstown. Later the Stewarts abandoned Castlestewart, whose ruins can still be seen, and established themselves at Stewart Hall, north of Stewartstown, which is now the seat of the Earls Castle Stewart, descendants of the original planter.⁵ Such are the vicissitudes of fortune in a country like Ireland that has been for so many centuries the prey of foreign invaders. The Devlins are now, for the most part, small landowners, tenant farmers, laborers or fishermen, in the country where for some six centuries they were the leading family and, instead of The O'Devlin, a nobleman of Scottish descent, the seventh Earl Castle Stewart, is the principal landowner in that region. It is interesting to consider that after the original occupation of Munterevlin by the ancestors of the O'Devlins, some member of the Clan Colla may have made similar reflections on the changes of fortune that had deprived his sept of land that had been also in the possession of the Clan Colla for an almost identical period of time as that which witnessed its occupation by the O'Devlins, i.e. six centuries; and some Irish noble probably thought much the same about the loss of his land back in the fourth century, when all this territory was seized by the Three Collas.

As previously stated, when the ancient place-name of Munterevlin was assigned to the modern electoral division in 1838, we find that most of the territory included in its boundaries lay on what appears on the map of 1610 as the church land of Arboe, assigned at the time of the Confiscations to the Protestant archbishops of Armagh, then represented by Henry Ussher.⁶ Only two townlands of the ancient Munterevlin are included in its modern namesake. Strangely enough there are now more Devlins in the electoral division than there are within the confines of their former territory, the probable reason for this shift of population being that, although English and Scottish "undertakers", such as the Stewarts, to whom confiscated land was assigned, were supposed to make leases to English or Scottish tenants only, there was no such

restriction in the case of church lands, consequently the latter generally show at the present day a great preponderance of native Irish in their population, in the modern electoral division of Munterevlin about 95%.⁷ Besides the cause above mentioned, the Lough Neagh fisheries also probably had a considerable attraction for the dispossessed Irish that would have tended to draw them towards the shores of the lake, where most of the electoral division lay.

Brian O'Develin is the only member of his family who appears on the list of those granted leases under the new regime. Having received a pardon for his share in Tyrone's Rebellion, he probably regarded the compensation allotted to him in the form of leased land as at any rate so much saved from the general wreck of his fortunes. What happened to others of his name is a matter for speculation or inference. Their numbers at that time could not have been great; by comparison with those of other families as to whom we have more information, probably a few score at the most. There was at this time no general solidarity even among members of the same sept, consequently some of the O'Devlins may not have shared their chief's political views nor have approved of his conduct. Disregarding personal sympathies and convictions, it may well have been the policy of septs located in a country so addicted to civil wars as was Tyrone before the Confiscations, to furnish aid to both sides in a quarrel, in the same manner that some Scottish landowning families, under similar circumstances, tried to ensure the retention of their properties under all eventualities by sending representatives to the camps both of the Pretenders and of King George during the Jacobite Wars of the eighteenth century. Some of the O'Devlins may therefore have been among the "swordsmen" who were transported into Connaught and Munster, others may have joined European armies on the Continent, while some may have become "rapparees", or "tories", as the English called them, terms applied to those Irish who, while leading an outlaw life in the woods and mountains of Ulster, made frequent raids on the lands occupied by the new settlers, many of whom preferred to abandon their newly acquired farms rather than to live in constant apprehension of such attacks.

Even in the clan days there seem to have been more or less marked social or economic distinctions among the O'Devlins in Munterevlin. In 1601, when the Chief was pardoned, thirteen of the followers of his name included in the pardon were described as "gentlemen", six as yeomen, and one as Vicar of Arboe. According to English nomenclature both gentlemen and yeomen would have been classed as freeholders, but it is apparent that from the English viewpoint there was a division of some kind among the O'Devlins between those of higher and lower standing.

In his Ordnance Survey Letters Descriptive of Londonderry (Sept. 27, 1834), John O'Donovan has given some interesting information about the Devlins. Writing from Moneymore, in southern Londonderry, he says: "It is curious to remark how the descendants of the old chiefs of every district are the most numerous of the aborigines. The reason for this, I think, because all the plebeians of the Irish race were cut off by the sword and famine during the reign of Elizabeth, when Ireland was laid waste. The Devlins are by far the most numerous family from this to Lough Neagh, where tradition says their inheritance lay. . ."

O'Donovan does not discuss the causes for the survival of descendants of the old Milesian nobility during the time when so many plebeian

families were wiped out, although this phenomenon was by no means confined to the Lough Neagh country. In other parts of Ireland also the surviving Milesian stock is often found to be largely descended from the old ruling septs. Perhaps this stock was naturally more virile, resourceful and hardy, also probably better prepared economically to withstand famines, certainly on the whole better educated and therefore perhaps more capable of adapting themselves to new conditions than were the plebeians. There was nothing about the life of such a rural aristocracy, engaged as they were in frequent warfare, that would have had an enervating effect on its members. It is also well known that the chiefs and their immediate kinsmen were frequently sustained in times of distress by their former followers who, out of veneration and affection, gave them subsidies to which they were no longer legally entitled under the new order introduced by the English.

Even before the disastrous Nine Years War, life for the plebeians was precarious enough in that border country where the natives were exposed to English raids. In The Spanish Story of the Armada, p. 76, J. A. Froude speaks of a Spanish captain, survivor from one of the galleons wrecked on the Irish coast in 1587, who was hospitably entertained at a castle in the Maguire country, where he was able to converse with his hosts in Latin. At this time the English were making so many raids into Fermanagh from the south that the people of that region, outside the castles or fortified places, had been reduced in numerous instances to a nomadic life. According to the captain "sheep and cattle were their only form of property. They had no clothes and no furniture. They slept on a bed of rushes, cut fresh as they wanted them, wet with rain or stiff with frost." Living as they did so close to a bare margin of existence, it can be imagined how fatal must have been the results for the poorer class of such a systematic devastation of the Lough Neagh country as that effected during the final years of the Tyrone Rebellion.

It seems probable that, after the Confiscations, the majority of the O'Devlins remained on, or in the vicinity of, their hereditary lands, as small farmers, laborers or fishermen in the waters of Lough Neagh. In the three centuries that have elapsed since those troublous times they have provided the nucleus that has produced such an extraordinary growth in the family's numbers. Before 1610 the O'Devlins probably constituted only a small proportion of the inhabitants in their territory, but they have been increasing steadily and prodigiously during the last three centuries. So spectacular an increase, under what for several generations must have been adverse economic conditions, speaks well for the perdurable qualities of the native Irish stock. In fact the increase in numbers of the Milesian aristocracy had already begun to assume considerable proportions at the time of the Ulster Plantation. Sir John Davies (1569-1626) says that they "increased their Septs or Surnames in such numbers, as there are not to be found in any kingdom of Europe, so many gentlemen of one Blood, Family and Surname," but this applied more especially to scions of the greater septs, who still far outnumber the descendants of minor septs like the O'Devlins both in Ireland and in the United States.⁸

It is apparent that some sort of an exodus from Munterevlin would eventually have become a necessity for the Devlins, since if all the family should now return to their ancestral land there would be little

more than camping space available for them. In fact the beginnings of such a migration are evident even before the Confiscations, since when The O'Hagan received his pardon in 1602 four O'Devlins are listed among his followers.⁹ This seems, however, to have been an isolated movement. No O'Devlins appear among their numerous adherents in the pardons of other Ulster chiefs. Perhaps the O'Devlins with O'Hagan had joined their neighbor to continue the fight against the English for another year, after their own chief had surrendered in 1601.

The Ulster Plantation put an end to the Irish clan system which, in any case, had become an anachronism at the time of its suppression, since both its virtues and its vices were those of an earlier and more primitive world; but it is the tragedy of Irish history that so necessary a transformation of its political structure should not have been effected, as in Scotland, by gradual and peaceful methods. Irish culture, whose essence has been preserved in Irish poetry,¹⁰ was for many centuries after the fall of the Roman Empire manifestly superior to that of England in scholarship, literature and art, but it remained politically immature, and by the seventeenth century had lost the capability of expansion and of adaptation to world conditions, having become frozen in an antiquated mould. The clan system had the disastrous effect of retarding a sense of Irish nationality and was perhaps the major cause for the misfortunes of the Milesian race. From an international viewpoint the clan system has also done the Irish a disservice by providing them with an undeserved reputation for exceptional bellicosity, although during the centuries when Ireland's kings were waging wars for the aggrandizement of their respective kingdoms, their contemporaries in other European countries were engaged in similar endeavors on a larger scale, as witness the Hundred Years War between France and England, to take one of many examples.

Although the genealogists seem to have been actuated by a desire to demonstrate the kinship of the Milesians, in practice a feeling of loyalty or solidarity did not ordinarily extend beyond the limits of the sept or clan. In the earlier period there were relations between the larger groups of tribes and races that can be explained only by ascribing their descent to a common ancestor, but there was not a sufficient cohesion among them to prevent a continual internecine warfare. Even within the clan itself the same centrifugal forces were operative, as was shown in the Clan Owen by the wars between the MacLoughlins and the O'Neills, as well as by the campaigns of the Tyrone branch of the O'Neills against their kinsmen, the O'Neills of Clandeboy. At the time of the Confiscations, as we have seen, the Clan Owen's constituent septs were riddled with mutual hatreds and jealousies.

Such conditions made it almost impossible to effect any stable native combinations against foreign invasions. Although among the Milesian clans there was some feeling of racial, linguistic and cultural affinity, an O'Devlin during the clan days could have had little real sense of Irish nationality. For centuries such hereditary enemies as the O'Donnells and the Maguires must have appeared to him almost as hateful, if not so alien, as the English themselves. The annalists are impartial in their praise or blame of Gael or Englishman, proof that they had not grasped the new concept of nationalism which had arisen in Europe, to replace the old ideal of Christian unity as exemplified by the mediaeval Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire, whose head the Irish high-kings had in theory acknowledged as their overlord.

So effectually has the feeling for the clan been extinguished that in all probability the greater part of the Devlins at the present day have no knowledge of their origin, their history, nor of the land where they once lived as a sept. It has been about nine hundred years since the period when surnames were assumed in Ireland. For the first two-thirds of that time their place in the Milesian genealogical system, and their identity as a sept of the Clan Owen, must have been always a part of the O'Devlins' consciousness. All the facts of their daily life, the tenure of their lands, their rights and privileges, as well as their obligations, such as subsidies and services to the heads of the sept and the clan, would have been a perpetual reminder that their status was of a hereditary nature. Moreover there were the genealogists and poets whose occupations were largely concerned with reviving memories of the past.

In the course of the three hundred years since their life as a sept terminated, the Devlins have almost completely forgotten their antecedents, even those of them who continue to live in their ancestral territory. The loss of their land must have been a tragic experience for a proud and warlike people. After the Confiscations the sept was replaced by a growing number of independent families that had no tie to bind them in a common allegiance to an O'Devlin who was Chief of the People of Devlin. Genealogies were neglected, and eventually were lost or forgotten, partly because they no longer served a utilitarian purpose in the hereditary transmission of land, and also because the chiefs, with some exceptions, no longer had the means nor the incentive to keep professional genealogists in their service.

How long the title O'Devlin was retained after the death of Brian O'Develin is not known, perhaps to the time of Le Sieur Develin, an officer in the Jacobite army in Ireland during the latter part of the seventeenth century, who is discussed later in this chapter. As we have seen, The O'Hagan, although "reduced to indigence", pretended to his title as late as 1766, when he performed the ceremony of inauguration for an O'Neill at Tullaghoge, but the Hereditary Brehon would perhaps have had more reason to preserve his position as being an indispensable participant in such a ceremony, than would have been the case for other chiefs of the clan. At any rate with the death of the last O'Devlin who had actually ruled in Munterevlin, and with the passing of the generation that had lived under his administration, the memories of the clan days became ever fainter and at length lapsed into an almost complete oblivion. The only tradition of the Devlins that has been handed down orally in Tyrone is that which relates to their having been formerly Sword-bearers of the O'Neills, and this seems to have been known by only a few families. Dr. J. G. Devlin, who was born in Munterevlin, says that "the memories of the clan days are no longer extant among our people."

Successive revolts during the seventeenth century were followed by renewed spoliations, until finally the native Irish were reduced to an almost uniform state of poverty. Whether a hereditary aristocracy is beneficial or harmful for a nation may well be a matter of dispute, but it is obvious that no such order can be maintained without wealth, and of all forms of riches the most enduring has been land, of which the Milesian nobility had been deprived. For a few generations after the loss of their properties the former aristocracy made some claims to

gentility, but their pretensions must often have resembled those of impoverished Polish nobles in past times who, while following the plow, could only be distinguished from their peasant neighbors by the rusty sword at their side. The following account of the O'Cahans' condition in Cromwell's time would apply in general to that of the O'Devlins and other Clan Owen septs.

"The loyalist Duchess of Buckingham (married to the Earl of Antrim) on her way south at this time to take a thousand men to strengthen the cause of Charles. . .went aside at Limavady to see the wife of O'Cathain, the late chieftain of that country. In the ruined hall of the O'Cathain castle - once the frequent scene of ligh-hearted revelry, but whose window-casements now were stuffed with straw - was huddled O'Cathains lady, whose beauty and whose bounty had evoked sweet tunes from many harps and inspired many a minstrel's lay. Wrapt in an old blanket, she was seated on her hams on the hearth, cowering over a miserable fire of brambles which she had laboriously gathered from the woods."

The royal sept fared little better than the Clan Owen nobility. Sir Bernard Burke speaks of an O'Neill, a direct descendant of the Clandeboy princes, who lodged in a hovel and made his living as a huckster. All that he retained as reminders of the vanished glories of his house were a few scraps of silver engraved with the O'Neill arms and a pedigree on parchment, tracing his descent from the Kings of Ailech. Speaking of this once great family's fall, Burke says: "First they were monarchs in Ireland, then princes, next chiefs, now nobles of English creation, again anglicized squires, and finally confiscated, crushed, and scattered, they became wanderers in, or exiles from the land of their inheritance. In that land, those who remained, except a few. . .became literally 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' where their great fathers reigned. Such is the destiny and decadence of the royal house of O'Neill."¹¹

Memories of a former distinction attached to the name of Devlin seem to have been better preserved in that branch of the family which had left Tyrone in the last decade of the sixteenth century and settled in Wicklow. In their own country, with their lands confiscated and their status that of an inferior and persecuted race, talk of their former position perhaps became distasteful to the Devlins as presenting too grim a contrast with actualities. On the other hand the Wicklow branch had left Munterevlin while it was still in possession of their kinsmen, and had consequently not had an opportunity of observing the impoverished condition to which the former lords of that territory had been reduced.

Dr. Arthur J. Devlin, of the Wicklow branch, relates the following custom in his family: "At the funeral of the father of the family, the hearse is to have six horses. As a child I was once told about it and later when my father was growing old he mentioned it again. Grandfather and great-grandfather were thus conveyed to Glasnevin, he said, and that was how he wished to go 'since the Devlins were princes and six horses are for a prince'. I faithfully obeyed my father's desires and his remains were so conveyed to the cemetery. The Irish Independent, Mar. 8, 1920, had a photograph of the hearse and six horses and I have preserved a copy".

Funeral customs are sometimes very ancient in Ireland. The honors

paid to the deceased male head of the house in Dr. Devlin's branch of the family, although possibly altered in details to suit changed conditions, strongly suggest an origin antedating the extinction of the clan system. In earlier days the display of horses at the funerals of "horsemen" like the O'Devlins may well have been regarded as symbolically appropriate, the number used perhaps varying with the standing of the deceased.¹²

Actually the Devlins were not princes, but such an idea might have arisen in earlier days when the Irish were still genealogically conscious, as a result of an examination of their pedigree, which would show a remote descent from the Kings of Ailech. The last prince in their lineage was the grandfather of their eponymous ancestor, as may be seen by referring to O'Clery's Genealogy.

Until the time of the repeal of the Penal Laws, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Devlins, who remained preponderantly Catholic, were subjected to such disabilities that they were almost of necessity compelled to leave Ireland in order to rise above that unhappy state to which the native Irish had been reduced. Among other humiliating and injurious conditions, the Penal Laws provided that no Catholic could serve as an officer in the army, enter the legal profession or teach school. They were forbidden to possess firearms and their houses could be forcibly searched for arms by justices of the peace. Children of Catholics could not be sent abroad for an education, and a son could immediately secure his inheritance and reduce his father to the status of a life tenant by becoming a Protestant. No Catholic could lease land for a longer period than thirty-one years, and if he inherited property could be deprived of it by the next Protestant heir, unless he abjured his religion within six months. All wards in chancery were brought up as Protestants and a Catholic could not act as Guardian. In spite of temptations to abandon their faith by abjuring a religion to which such penalties were attached, most Devlins remained Catholics. None of them appear in The Index to Convert Rolls (1701-1776) as Protestants.¹³

A striking exception to the prevalence of Catholicism in the family is found in the case of the earliest Protestant so far encountered among them, a Cornelius Develin who was an officer in Cromwell's army and a considerable landowner in Louth. On account of his religion, actions and affiliations, he was attainted by the Catholic Parliament of James II, in 1689, as a follower of Cromwell.¹⁴

Since the repeal of the Penal Laws the family has been free to develop according to the native ability of its individual members. The Devlins may be found in many parts of the world and occupying the most diverse positions in the economic scale. Under the clan system their surname was undoubtedly a distinct asset to its possessors as being economically indispensable on account of the peculiar features of the Brehon Law that governed land inheritance, but after the destruction of that system it became a liability, as unmistakably identifying its bearer with the blood of the conquered race. At the present day, however, this surname has little significance in itself, either favorable or unfavorable, the local consideration in which it is held being dependent almost entirely on the individual qualities of those who bear it.

In Ireland, partly in consequence of legislation favoring the partition of large estates, and in part as the result of other causes, the general tendency has been towards a redistribution of the soil among its original

inhabitants. In The Road Around Ireland, Padraic Colum remarks that over wide areas at the present day, few surnames can be found that are not indigenous to the country. The Devlins are conspicuously absent from lists of landowners, in surveys taken during the seventeenth century. Dr. Eoin MacNeill says: "Vol. III of the Civil Survey of Ireland (1654-1656) contains the survey of Tyrone. This survey was made under the Cromwellian commissioners with a view to the confiscation of the lands of the Irish Catholics and their replacement by the men of Cromwell's army. It gives the names of Irish landowners in 1641 and a minute description of their lands. I have looked for landowners of the O'Devlin name in the barony of Dungannon and find none. They must have been dispossessed in the earlier Plantation of Ulster." Failing records of land ownership that would indicate the distribution of Devlins in earlier times, Dr. Arthur J. Devlin has examined The General Valuation of Ireland (1847-1864) by Sir Richard Griffith, the results of his research appearing in Appendix VII to this volume. An examination of these lists shows that by the middle of the last century the Devlins had climbed up the economic ladder and were again listed among Irish landowners, but their progress had been very slow, since even as late as 1878 no Devlin in Ireland was the owner of land to the extent of 500 acres or to the value of 500 pounds.¹⁵

Some Devlins continue to till the soil west of Lough Neagh while many make their living by fishing in the lake. Mr. John Devlin says that, since about thirty years ago, the land in the electoral division of Munterevlin has been purchased from the landlord and is now owned by the former tenants. On this land, and in its vicinity, there are so many Devlins that in order to distinguish families an additional nickname is added to the surname as: Devlin-Bans (White) (Mr. John Devlin says that they are hereditarily blond among the Devlin-Bans to the present day); Devlin-Dhu (Black); Devlin-Gaes (Wee); Devlin-Gabha (pronounced Go and meaning "blacksmith" in Irish); Devlin-Mor (Big); etc. Mr. John Devlin's family are known as the Devlins of the Old Cross. The addition of cognomens in this manner follows the old Irish usage, as shown in the annals, and recalls the Roman system of nomenclature.¹⁶ Irish nicknames are added to the surname in Munterevlin, but Irish is not spoken there now, although Irish words occasionally crop out in the speech of the inhabitants.¹⁷

Writing of the modern electoral division of Munterevlin, Dr. J. G. Devlin says: "The land of the Devlins is certainly well known to me for I was born there and until over the age of twenty spent nearly all my time in it. The land is extremely flat, bogs abound, fields are small and the people are poor. Along the shore of the lough the people earn their living by fishing (eels in the summer, trout and pollan in the winter.) About one half mile inland, or perhaps a mile, most of the inhabitants are farmers, owning small thatched two-roomed or three-roomed dwellings which usually abut on the roadway, and a few acres of land, on the average about ten to twelve acres per farmer. The crops raised are potatoes, corn, to a less extent wheat, flax, turnips, etc. Barley I have never seen growing in Arboe, though in County Antrim I have seen it often. The Devlins are most plentiful in those townlands bordering Lough Neagh on its western side (Kinturk, Aneterbeg, Anetermore, Ardain, Moortown, Kinrush, Sessiagh, and Farsnagh) although they have of course permeated peripherally. Further

inland, i.e. towards Coagh, and again extending south and southwest, towards Stewartstown, the people are of a different origin, being Protestants and fairly extensive farmers who possess good, well-drained, arable land, and are of Scottish descent from the time of the Ulster Plantation. The people who dwell by and near the lough shore are Catholics and essentially fishermen. Some fishermen may have a few fields of land, but these they look upon as a side line. I think the fisher type is hardier, more subtle, more appreciative of nature, and more intellectual than the people of Upper Arboe, who are given to farming. The latter are more industrious, on the whole they possess more of this world's goods, are more orthodox in dress and customs than the fisher type."¹⁸

It was in that country west of Lough Neagh, of which Dr. Devlin has given such a vivid picture both of the terrain and its present inhabitants, that the family's patronymic was first used. During the eight centuries that have elapsed since the time of its origin, this surname has assumed many forms. Twenty-one methods of spelling Devlin in Irish have been discovered, and more than thirty variations in English. Three-syllable forms, preceded by Ó, were usual in Irish, and also in the original anglicized versions of the surname. As an example, Ó Doibhilén (the accent on the final syllable is correct but often omitted in the annals and genealogies) became O'Develin in English, which is an approximate rendition of one method of pronunciation in Irish. Dr. J. G. Devlin says that, although they now spell the surname in Munterevlin as Devlin, the inhabitants still pronounce it with a middle syllable.

During the seventeenth century three-syllable forms of the name prevailed, but in the latter part of that century we observe a tendency to omit the O'. This prefix continued to be used occasionally until late in the eighteenth century, the last instance of its employment so far encountered occurring in a document dated 1787. During that century the middle vowel was largely discarded until by the nineteenth century Devlin had become the standard form. The Rev. Patrick Woulfe gives numerous examples of similar excisions in his book on Irish surnames. Such an elimination of syllables is attributed by P. W. Joyce to a "laziness of speech", but Mr. Terence Rafferty believes that, in this instance, where the pronunciation of the middle vowel is actually retained in speech, the change from Develin to Devlin was effected because Develin might be erroneously pronounced as Deevlin. In Ireland at the time of the Census of 1890, only about nine per cent. of the Devlins continued the use of archaic three-syllable forms. These seem to be more usual in the United States than in Ireland.¹⁹

Devlin is not a very common name in Ireland. According to Sir Robert E. Matheson's Special Report on Surnames in Ireland, in a population of a little more than 4,700,000 (Census of 1890), there were about 5000 Devlins, including 450 who used variant forms of the surname, mostly three-syllable. Devlin does not appear among the hundred most common Irish surnames. Even in Tyrone, the county where the largest number of Devlins is found, it is not among the fourteen most usual names as given by Matheson. This is as we should expect to find it, since the Devlins were a minor sept, and in the clan days were probably numbered by scores rather than by hundreds.²⁰

Many Devlins have left Ireland to settle in the United States. There are also many that have been attracted to Irish cities, but Devlin was

still distinctively an Ulster name in 1890. Matheson states that there were in that year 3950 Devlins in Ulster, 850 in Leinster, 120 in Munster and 90 in Connaught.

Matheson's figures are of interest as giving the general location of Devlins, but they do not enable us to locate with precision the parent hive from which the Devlins in other parts of Ireland derived their origin. Fortunately we can obtain this information from Griffith's Valuation (1847-1864). If there were no other documentary evidence than this record of landholdings, we could tell where the Devlins had their origin. Of the 891 Devlins in all Ireland that appear in these lists, 392, or 44%, lived in Tyrone, which has nearly four times the number appearing in any other county. In Tyrone, as we should expect, it is those parishes in the extreme northeastern section, west of Lough Neagh, where most of the Devlins appear as landholders.

Of the fifty-seven townlands that were included in the ancestral territory of the Devlins in the clan days, according to the map of 1610, twenty-two are found in the parish of Arboe, fifteen in the parish of Donaghhenry, twelve in the parish of Ballyclog, five in the parish of Tamlaght, two in the parish of Clonoe, and one in the parish of Ballinderry. In these parishes are 196 Devlin landholders, or half of their total in Tyrone. In Arboe alone there are 144 of them, a third of all in the county. It is in the parish of Arboe, where the Devlins are so numerous, and in the adjoining parish of Ballyclog, that we find the distinguishing cognomens added to the surname, to which reference has been made.

After Tyrone in number of Devlin landholders, come the counties on its borders; Armagh with 99; Londonderry with 98; Donegal with 79; Antrim 59; Down 62; Monaghan 17; Cavan 9, and Fermanagh 4. In Tyrone there are 392 Devlin landholders and only 98 in Londonderry, which supports the view already expressed that the principal portion of Munterevlin, at least in productivity, lay south of the Ballinderry River in the clan days. Confirmatory evidence, however, is to be found for John O'Donovan's statement in his Ordnance Survey Letters that a portion of the ancient Munterevlin extended across the Ballinderry, where he locates it in the parish of Artrea; since in Griffith's Valuation Artrea is credited with seventeen Devlin landholders, more than any other Londonderry parish, and one third of all Devlins in these lists for Londonderry are concentrated in those parishes which lie partly in Londonderry and partly in Tyrone, i.e. Ballinderry, Artrea, Lissan, Tamlaght and Derryloran.

By provinces we find 819 Devlins in Griffith's lists, or 92%, are in Ulster, 65 in Leinster, 7 in Connaught and none in Munster. Of Leinster counties the two that are closest to Tyrone have the largest number of Devlin landholders; Louth with 15, and Meath with 12. In the county of Dublin, excluding Dublin city, there are only 8, and 6 in the city itself, a surprisingly small number considering the attraction that the nation's capital ordinarily exerts on people from all parts of a country. These figures accord with the testimony of Dr. A. J. Devlin's aunt that Devlin was a rare name in the Dublin of her time. At the present day this is not true, many Devlins having moved to the metropolis in recent years.

Confirmatory evidence that the Devlins settled in Wicklow in the late sixteenth century can be found in the fact that of the southern counties of Leinster, which would not be so likely to receive the overflow

of Devlins from Tyrone as those in its vicinity, Wicklow, with nine Devlin landholders, has more than twice the number of any other county in its area.²¹

Devlins in Ireland, therefore, are still most numerous in those counties which border on Lough Neagh. It may be that this lake had been so long such a conspicuous feature in their environment that the family were reluctant to leave its neighborhood. After the loss of their land many of them must have made a livelihood by fishing in its waters. Mr. John Devlin says that "there are a great number of fishermen on the shores of Lough Neagh along Munterevlin. The great majority are named Devlin."

That the Devlins should not have penetrated into the bordering county of Fermanagh after the Confiscations, where Griffith's lists show only four in the middle of the last century, may have been owing at first to the presence in that county of their former enemies, the Maguires. This may also account for the rarity of the name in Connaught, which lay on the other side of what had been so long hostile territory. After they had accommodated themselves to the altered conditions produced by the Ulster Plantation, those Devlins who were not attracted to the cities of their own country, or forced to emigrate to other lands on account of economic conditions, were probably bound to the Lough Neagh vicinity by that attachment to their native soil which is so strong a feature of Irish character. This attachment is especially compelling among those who, like the Devlins, are inland people. If they had lived on the seacoast they would probably by this time be more widely dispersed in Ireland than they are. In his Place-names and Family-names of Clare Island, Dr. Eoin MacNeill demonstrates the relatively more static qualities of those who live inland as compared with those dwelling on the coast.

Besides the migrations of Devlins to Irish cities, and their exodus to foreign countries, there is evidence of two minor movements of the family away from the land west of Lough Neagh. As we have seen, some of the family moved to Glenealy, near Wicklow, and in the latter part of the sixteenth century founded there the Wicklow branch of Devlins. At an undetermined date after the clan days, but not later than the eighteenth century, since the author's great-great-grandfather was a resident of Inishowen, some of the family moved to the parish of Clonmany, in that peninsula, in the county of Donegal, north of the city of Londonderry. Clonmany is about fifty miles to the northwest of Munterevlin, consequently this migration did not entail much of a journey for the pioneers among the Devlins who started this settlement. They carried with them to their new environment the custom of adding cognomens to their surnames, in the same manner as now used in Munterevlin.²² No cause has yet been discovered for a movement of Devlins to Clonmany. Perhaps an unusual fecundity among a few chance settlers may explain their present concentration in that parish.

It will be noticed by reference to the list of Devlin landholders in Donegal (Appendix VII) that in the middle of the last century 45 of the 79 in that county were concentrated in the parish of Clonmany. This was territory that had been taken from the Clan Owen in the thirteenth century and occupied by the O'Dohertys of the Clan Conall, under whose rule it remained until the Confiscations of the seventeenth century. While they retained sovereignty in Inishowen it seems unlikely that the

O'Dohertys would have welcomed members of the Clan Owen to their territory, considering the enmity that they must have felt towards them as a result of centuries of warfare, and this supposition is substantiated by an Elizabethan Fiant, in which no O'Devlins appear among several hundreds of his followers in The O'Doherty's pardon, granted by the English after the Nine Years War. Further negative evidence of the comparatively recent arrival of Devlins in Clonmany is found in the absence of their name from any lists of Inishowen septs in the clan days, and from a census taken in Inishowen in the middle of the seventeenth century. Of course when it is considered that Owen, the founder of the clan which bore his name, occupied Inishowen in the fifth century, and that this peninsula continued to be the headquarters of his descendants for many centuries after his time, the Devlins living in Clonmany parish may be regarded as having returned to their ancestors' earliest habitation in Ulster.

Devlins were extremely scarce in America during colonial days. Although many books have been consulted, containing thousands of names of Irish immigrants before the Revolution, only seven unquestionable examples of their presence here during that period have been found. The probable reason for their scarcity is that there must have been comparatively few of them at that time in Ireland. Even at the present day the Devlins rank very low among Milesian families so far as numbers are concerned. The first of the family in America, whose name has yet been encountered, was Roger O'Develin, who settled in Chester County, Pennsylvania, prior to 1750. He likewise has the distinction of being the only member of the family yet discovered on this side of the Atlantic to employ the prefix O' before his name. It will be noticed that he used the older form of the surname with a middle vowel. There were also in this country two Devlins from Virginia, one from South Carolina, and two from Pennsylvania, who were soldiers in the Continental Army during the Revolution.

Samuel Devlin was a resident of Plymouth, New Hampshire, in 1773. As a Christian name Samuel is unmistakably Protestant, and indicates that this branch of the family had been for at least two generations in New England, and possibly more. Because of the general absence of Catholic churches and missions in colonial America, outside the Maryland settlements, the Catholic Irish were ordinarily engulfed in the sea of Protestantism after the first generation. Accounts have come down to us of the original emigrants muttering prayers and fingering the beads of their rosaries in the rear of Protestant churches during the services. At the present day one occasionally encounters in New England and other farming communities Protestant families bearing Milesian Irish surnames, who have been for several centuries indistinguishable from their neighbors of English descent in any other respect.²³

Although there are some instances of Devlins arriving in the United States between the Revolutionary and Mexican Wars,²⁴ their main emigration to this country dates from the years of the Potato Famine in Ireland (1845-1848), as memorable and terrible a time for the family as that of the Confiscations in the seventeenth century. It is said that during these years of famine "probably at least a million persons died of starvation or of disease resulting from it; more than that many had left the country, the vast majority going to the United States."²⁵ At that

time James K. Polk was president, so that many Devlins date the arrival of their branch of the family in America from his administration.

The Irish who fled to America from the Potato Famine in Ireland came in time to witness the vast enlargement of territory in the American West as a result of the Mexican War, and to participate in the American Civil War, which broke out about a dozen years after their arrival. In this war, as in the American Revolution, the Irish furnished large contingents of troops, especially to the Union Army.²⁶

It is said that three-quarters of the Irish blood in the United States is to be found in the eight states of New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Illinois, New Jersey, Connecticut, Ohio, and California, in the order named. There is no reason to suppose that the Devlins depart from this average, and it is probable that they are principally located in those states. City directories show an especially large concentration of Devlins in the big cities of the northeast, such as New York, Philadelphia and Boston. For unknown reasons Philadelphia has exerted a particular attraction for the family, since they seem to be better represented there, in proportion to population, than in any other of the large American cities.²⁷

From an economic viewpoint the Devlins do not appear to differ from the American average. They are found in practically all the trades and professions, but like other descendants of Irish immigrants they are essentially an urban family. The Irish who had escaped from the famine desired to be anything rather than agriculturists in their adopted country. It has been estimated that only eight per cent of Irish immigrants in the United States have been farmers, a much smaller proportion than that of any other racial group. From being a distinctively rural people during the clan days in Ireland, the Irish in this country have become preponderantly city dwellers. Since most of the Devlins have lived for several generations in the United States, they are in general thoroughly Americanized in appearance, outlook and speech.²⁸

Canada received her quota of Irish immigration, and the Devlins are well represented there, especially in the Province of Quebec, where they have distinguished themselves in politics. In The Dictionary of Canadian Biography, by W. S. Wallace, it is stated that Charles Ramsay Devlin (1858-1914) was a member of both the Canadian and Imperial Parliaments, and Emmanuel Devlin has been a member of the Canadian Parliament. Bernard Devlin, of Montreal, who was an associate of Thomas D'Arcy Magee, and prominent in Canadian politics, went to New York in 1848 to collect arms for a projected rebellion in Ireland.

The first recorded instance of a Devlin emigrant to Australia is that of a political prisoner transported there in 1806,²⁹ the year of Napoleon's victory over the Prussians at Jena. Dr. Joseph Devlin, the distinguished lexicographer, says that he met Devlins in that country during his residence there. The author's granduncle John emigrated to Australia in the 40's of the last century. He was engaged in sheep farming and is said to have left descendants.

It is of course difficult to form even an approximate estimate of the total number of Devlins at the present day. According to Matheson there were about 5000 of them in Ireland in 1890. If, as seems likely, there are twice the number of Devlins in the United States and Canada that there are in Ireland,³⁰ and allowance is made for Devlins throughout

the British Empire,³¹ there may be altogether as many as twenty thousand in all parts of the world.

The causes for a family's fecundity are obscure. One of the most prolific of Irish families have been the Sullivans, who like the Devlins stem from one eponymous ancestor and not from multiple progenitors as in the case of the Connors, and yet there were in 1890, according to Matheson, twelve thousand more Sullivans in Ireland than there were Connors, and nearly nine times the number of Sullivans that there were Devlins in that year. The annals contain the names of families, more prominent in past days than were the Devlins, who have apparently left no living representatives, but there seems to be little likelihood of an international family like the Devlins now becoming extinct. Their wide distribution in America alone should ensure immortality for the surname.

Although the Ulster Plantation put a period to the history of the family as a unit, it may be of interest for the reader to learn something about the Devlins in later years. Concerning the lives of the great majority of them we know little, since the only records of their existence are to be found in family Bibles, or in legal documents such as deeds, or birth, marriage and death certificates. Such records, while useful enough for constructing an individual pedigree, do not make stimulating reading. Since the native Irish were, for the most part, excluded from public life in Ireland during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when their names appear in history it is generally in revolt against the established government, or in the service of foreign countries.

In the notes to this volume will be found some miscellaneous information about Devlins who have distinguished themselves in various ways. In concluding this chapter we shall deal briefly with a few who typify the reaction of members of the family to conditions prevailing in Ireland during the centuries that succeeded the Confiscations. There is first the "rapparee", the outlaw of the seventeenth century, who led a hunted existence and ferociously avenged the wrongs inflicted on his people by the foreign settlers, then there are Devlins who engaged in the Irish rebellions of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and some examples of the many Irishmen who enrolled in foreign armies in order to fight against the oppressors of their race, or were educated abroad for the priesthood because such education was prohibited in Ireland; also a cleric of the Catholic Church who spent most of his life in exile because of the iniquitous Penal Laws proscribing his religion, and last, a product of happier and more enlightened times, an Irish statesman who tried to obtain the unity and freedom of his people by constitutional means.

Patrick O'Develin is accused of drowning a group of Protestants at Portadown, a town close to the southern shores of Lough Neagh, in 1641.³² This was the period of Sir Phelim O'Neill's Rebellion, during the reign of Charles I. Of course these accusations are the result of ex parte testimony, but they may well have been true. The brutal oppression to which the Irish had been subjected had produced desperate outlaws, whose attacks on the Protestants were condoned at the time by many of their countrymen, because of their sense of the injustice from which they had suffered. The presence of the foreigners on their lands drove the dispossessed Irish to a savage fury, and they wreaked a merciless vengeance on these intruders when they had the opportunity. Several thousand of the new settlers perished in this uprising.

It would be erroneous, however, to regard the Ulster Protestants as unresisting victims of Irish massacres. In general they were as hard-bitten and relentless as their enemies, possessing as they did all the characteristics necessary for life under frontier conditions amidst a hostile population. Only the boldest and most land-hungry adventurers could be induced to remain on the confiscated land in those days. Such an environment produced a hardy stock, inured to perils. In after years, descendants of these Protestant pioneers in Ulster, when transplanted to the other side of the Atlantic, naturally gravitated to the frontier, where they were noted as Indian fighters and explorers.

In Sir Phelim O'Neill's army two members of the family appear as officers, one of whom, "a good and valiant captain", may very well have been The O'Devlin of his generation.³³ We find them associated with O'Neills, O'Hagans, O'Quinns, O'Mellons, O'Mulhollans, O'Donnellys, and O'Cahans, all kindred septs of the Clan Owen, with whom they had been companions in the wars of many centuries. A passage from The Journal of Friar O'Mellan throws a lurid light on the horrors of those days and the sufferings to which the O'Devlins and other families were subjected.

"A council was held by the General of the Ulster army and by the President [at Mullintur] in Munter Byrne. They resolved not to leave the country on any account. That whoever stole a cow or mare, horse or garron [pony], sheep or goat, the value of these things should be levied off his property if he had any, or if a poor man, that he should be hanged. Also whatever persons should go about drinking out of churns, or raising any disturbance, should be cudgelled with staves till their backbones were broken inside them; and many other good regulations. There were some persons in the country; O'Kanes, the People of Devlin, the People of Ara, (the People of) Iveagh, and all the Clandeboy of the Route, who eat mares and horses, who steal and carry off from the rear the heretics' cats and dogs, and eat men."³⁴

Such desperate resolution has seldom been so succinctly expressed. Those times of horror and of famine produced terrible men and atrocious acts. From the tone of his journal one would judge that the friar himself, brutalized by the environment in which he lived, was lacking in that spirit of Christian charity which becomes a member of the clergy. His evident approval of the summary injustice meted out to the poor man, and of such extreme penalties for "drinking out of churns", is shocking to our modern democratic and humanitarian instincts. He also seems to have been possessed of a ghoulish sense of humor, whether conscious or unconscious, as witness the ludicrous contrast between the stealthy theft of "the heretics' cats and dogs", and the cannibalism which he so casually refers to in the same sentence.

After the failure of their numerous rebellions many Irishmen, oppressed by the hopelessness of struggling against the enemy in their own country, took service in foreign armies, where they formed regiments and brigades of Irish exiles.³⁵ At the Battle of Fontenoy, the French acknowledged that it was the charge of the Irish troops which decided the victory for them. It has been estimated that in the eighteenth century alone nearly half a million Irishmen perished on French battlefields. Those Irish serving with the French were known as The Wild Geese, among whom we find two members of the family - Lieutenant Develin and Le Sieur Develin, ayde-major - as officers of the

Regiment du Grand Prieur, in the Jacobite army in Ireland (1689).³⁶ Although these officers retain the characteristic seventeenth century spelling of the surname with the middle E, they have either discarded the O', as in the case of other officers of Milesian origin in this regiment, or this prefix has been eliminated by the French official who made up the list.³⁷

The colonel of this regiment, Le Grand Prieur, was the natural son of James II by Arabella Churchill. His troops were engaged throughout his father's Irish campaign, in the Battle of the Boyne, and at the siege of Limerick, where they particularly distinguished themselves. The title "Le Sieur", given to Develin, indicates that this officer, in common with others thus designated, was "chief of his name", possible a grandson of the Brian O'Develin who was head of his sept at the time of the Confiscations, and son of the "good and valiant" Captain Brian O'Develin who was killed in Sir Phelim O'Neill's Rebellion in 1642. Most of the higher ranking officers in this regiment had claims to hereditary lands escheated to the Crown in various Confiscations, and aside from religious reasons for backing the Catholic James against the Protestant William, hoped in case he was victorious to recover their lost estates. This understanding is expressly stipulated in a letter dated Nov. 4, 1690, from Limerick, and addressed in French to Le Comte d'Avaux by Hugh (Baldearg) O'Donnell. The latter says that, after a victory by the Jacobite forces, the Irish chiefs who have given their military assistance understand that "les conditions sont, qu'ils seront remis dans leurs états et biens."

Passing into the eighteenth century we find that both the O' and the middle E of the surname are more rarely used. After the storms of the preceding century this was an era of comparative quiet, if only a quiet of exhaustion, and appropriately enough our next Devlin is a complete contrast to the rapparee whom we first considered. Sir James Ware, an eighteenth century antiquarian, in his Writers of Ireland, speaks of Francis O'Devlin, who was Jubilate Lecturer of Divinity in the College of the Holy Conception at Prague, in Bohemia. He was a Franciscan friar, born in the county of Tyrone, who eventually returned to his native country and died there in 1735, during the reign of George II. Ware gives the titles of several religious and philosophical works, written in Latin, of which Francis O'Devlin was the author. This friar was one of many Devlins who have entered the service of the Catholic Church, since the days of that O'Devlin, Bishop of Kells, who lived in the twelfth century.

John Toland, an Irish deist, who visited the Franciscan College of Prague in 1708, speaks of the hospitality with which, in spite of his religious views, he was received by the friars, among whom special reference is made to Francis O'Devlin. Another Irish traveler who visited the friars in 1723 was the Protestant, Pole Cosby, who writes: "I was entertained at Prague at the Irish monastery with very great civility and four score Irish priests there were so glad and full of joy to see us as if we were their own kin."³⁸ It can be imagined how welcome anybody bringing news from home must have been to these exiles.

A reminder of the days when the ancient Milesian nobility of Ireland enjoyed a European recognition is to be found in the College of Irish Nobles (Colegio de Nobles Irlandeses) at Salamanca, in Spain, founded by Philip II in 1582 at the time when he was contemplating an

alliance with the Catholic Irish chiefs against the Protestant English queen, Elizabeth. This college is still attended by Irish theological students, who are a conspicuous sight in the old university city, dressed as they are in the gowns and birettas of a past age. The Irlandeses are housed and receive their instruction in two of the most impressive collegiate buildings in Europe, the Colegio del Arzobispo and the Clerecía. Dr. Arthur J. Devlin has found in Archivium Hibernicum, published by the Record Society, Maynooth, a list of students at the Irish College for the period 1776-1837, taken from the Libros de Matriculas of the University Archives, College Account Books and other documents. Edward Devlin is mentioned as being in residence at Salamanca during the years 1797, 1799, 1800 and 1803, and Matthew Devlin was there in 1836-1837. It is probable that others of this name were at the Irish College during a much earlier period, although the records of those times may not be extant to indicate their residence there.

It has been estimated that the Irish formed more than a third of the Continental Army during the American Revolution.³⁹ Two Irish generals, Moylan and Knox, commanded respectively Washington's cavalry and artillery, and five Irish generals were present on the American side at the Battle of Saratoga. General Sullivan was with Washington at Trenton and Germantown, and distinguished himself by his campaign against the Iroquois. Another Irishman, Commodore Barry, is known as the "Father of the American Navy". The Irish who fought during the Revolution were of mixed origins, representing the many racial strains that are found in Ireland, including a liberal admixture of the Milesian.

We find two Devlins, Henry and Robert, serving in the Eighth Virginia Infantry Regiment during the Revolution.⁴⁰ James Devlin, a South Carolina veteran of the American Revolution, is buried in Cedar Springs graveyard, near Abbeville, South Carolina. The inscription on his tomb reads: "Sacred to the memory of James Devlin, who died in 1825. He was a patriot of the Revolution and fought under Col. Moultrie on Sullivan's Island, at the defeat of Peter Parker, and saw Jasper replace the flag amidst the thunder of British guns". Another James Devlin was a member of Procter's Artillery, which was organized in October, 1775, and took part in many battles, including that of Monmouth in 1778, and Sullivan's campaign of the following year. This regiment, which consisted largely of Pennsylvania Irish, was disbanded in 1783. Francis Develon, or Devalon, buried in the Old Cemetery, Washington Court House, Ohio, is also listed as a Revolutionary soldier, probably in a Pennsylvania regiment.⁴¹

The British experienced two more eruptions of the Irish volcano at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, the Rebellions of 1798 and 1803. Richard Develin was outlawed for his activities in 1798 and, according to family tradition, died an exile in France. Strangely enough his wife was a Quakeress. Richard's son, Patrick, who emigrated to the United States, was reared in his mother's faith, furnishing perhaps a unique example of a Quaker Devlin. That sect, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was subjected to almost as great a persecution in Ireland as was the Catholic.⁴² Although not unknown, Milesian surnames are extremely rare among the Irish Quakers, since the Quaker religion differs too greatly from Catholicism both in dogma and observances for a ready transition from the ancestral faith of the Milesian Irish. Most of the Devlins in Ireland who became

Protestants have been members of the Church of Ireland, which corresponds to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.⁴³

Ann Devlin, patriot and martyr of the Rebellion of 1803, would probably be regarded in Ireland as the most famous member of the family.⁴⁴ She was a cousin of Michael Dwyer, leader of Wicklow insurgents. With the wife of James Hope, another leader, she posed as a servant in the house of Robert Emmet, in order to conceal the revolutionary activities being conducted there. This action on her part, undertaken without compensation and through devotion to the cause of Irish freedom, has led to the false belief that she was Emmet's servant, and is the reason for that erroneous description of her position on her tombstone. After the discovery of the plot by the authorities, following an abortive uprising, Ann Devlin was arrested and subjected to torture with the object of forcing her to testify against Emmet at his trial, but she steadfastly refused to do so. After her release from years of heroic sufferings, while she was among the state prisoners in Kilmainham and other jails, she experienced a long life of sickness, poverty and neglect, her condition being the result of a chronic illness contracted during her imprisonment. Forty-eight years after Emmet's unsuccessful attempt in behalf of Irish freedom, his faithful adherent was buried in a charity coffin and in a pauper's grave at Glasnevin cemetery, Dublin. Later, owing to the initiative of Dr. R. R. Madden, and at his expense, Ann's coffin was exhumed and her remains were removed to the best part of the cemetery. The inscription on her grave reads: "To the memory of Ann Devlin (Campbell) the faithful servant of Robert Emmet, who possessed some rare and many noble qualities, who lived in obscurity and poverty and so died on the 18th of Sept., 1851. May she rest in peace. Amen." To conform to the facts, "servant" should be altered to "adherent" in this otherwise excellent inscription.⁴⁵

Arthur Devlin, cousin of Ann, whose name is spelled Develin in Miles Byrne's Memoirs, is said to have been Robert Emmet's favorite among his lieutenants. Arthur was a participant both in the rebellion of 1798 and in that of 1803. After the failure of the latter uprising, he was exiled to Australia with his cousin, the Wicklow leader Michael Dwyer, and other rebels, where he died soon after his arrival in that country. In P. S. O'Clery's Australia's Debt to Irish Nation Builders (p. 22), it is said: "On 18th Feb., 1806, the ship *Tellicherry* arrived in Port Jackson, having on board one hundred and twenty-five male and thirty-five female convicts, together with Michael Dwyer, John Mernagh, Hugh Byrne, Martin Burke and Arthur Devlin, who had been graciously granted permission to banish themselves for life to New South Wales to avoid being brought to trial for their part in the Rebellion of 1798. The wives of Dwyer and Byrne were passengers, with their six children. King (the Governor) foresaw trouble. It was not that he feared a repetition of Castle Hill, but these considerable leaders were sent out as free men. . . ."

With the repeal of the Penal Laws that had deprived the Catholic Irish of the franchise, the struggle for Irish freedom passed from the battlefield to Parliament, where a succession of Irish leaders advanced the cause of Irish autonomy, accompanied in its final stages by armed uprisings in the second and third decades of the twentieth century and finally resulting in the establishment of the republic of Ireland. Noted among Irish nationalist leaders was Joseph Devlin (1872-1934), who

early in his political career represented the home of his ancestors as Member of Parliament for Tyrone and Fermanagh at Westminster, and later sat for Belfast, the city of his birth, both in the Imperial Parliament and in the Parliament of Northern Ireland. Few Irish leaders have had so devoted a following since the days of Charles Stewart Parnell. As evidence of his popularity and of the enthusiasm that he inspired, it was stated in British newspapers at the time of his death that one hundred thousand mourners are estimated to have attended his funeral. In speaking of his career, *The Times* (London, Jan. 19, 1934) said: "In the House of Commons he soon established himself as a debater and humorist. Small in stature and thick set, he presented a boyish-looking figure. He had a large head, coal black hair and a clean-shaven face, strong and resolute in expression which was softened by his shrewd, humorous eyes. In Belfast he was known as 'Wee Joe', and Mr. T. M. Healy once referred to him as 'the duo-decimo Demosthenes'. His accent was the accent of his native city, emphatic and harsh, but it was appropriate to his fierce style of speaking. His eloquence was rather rather of the platform than of Parliament, and yet he could fill the House and hold it through his long vehement orations. In Belfast, Devlin was idolized by his fellow Nationalists and Roman Catholics, and he was respected by Unionists for his ability and broad-mindedness. As member for Belfast he endeavoured to represent all creeds and classes."⁴⁶

And so ends with this brief notice of one of its most distinguished sons, the history of this ancient sept. From the time of Owen, a contemporary of Hengist and Horsa in the fifth century, the story is solidly based on historical facts, of which the annals contain perhaps a superabundance for the taste of the modern reader, but on investigating the remoter origins of the clan to which the Devlins belonged, we find that not many generations before the days of its founder, fable begins to mix with fact, until finally the authentic genealogy is lost in an antiquity where the Irish gods figure as progenitors of the race.

This account of the Devlins has dealt almost exclusively with their life in Ireland, for down to the middle of the nineteenth century they were preponderantly Irish, both as to blood and habitation. Since that time, however, the Devlins have become an international family, so much so that probably more of them now live outside Ireland than reside within its borders. In the melting pot of the American continent they have mingled their blood with that of many other racial strains. This process will inevitably continue until little of Irish is left in the family except the name. But even a thousand years from now, if the family persists so long - and it is difficult to imagine mankind dispensing with surnames - Devlin will still recall that remote Irish forebear to whom the family is indebted for its patronymic.

Perhaps some Devlin descendants, as far removed from our times as we are distant from those of the family's eponymous ancestor, may derive pleasure from reading this story, to which so many of the author's correspondents have so greatly contributed. If it is read by Devlins of the thirtieth century it is to be hoped that they may look back on our era of world strife as to a time when humanity had not yet emerged from barbarism, much as Devlins of the present day view that millenium since the adoption of their surname through which the family has struggled and survived. In spite of wars that have tormented the world in our times, the lives of most Devlins are probably now happier

and more civilized than were those of our forefathers, the warlike horsemen of the O'Neills, and their successors, the rebellious tenants of alien landlords. Certainly our lives contain more variety and more promise of advancement than did those of our ancestors. There are probably few members of the family now living who would willingly exchange their lot for that of those forebears who suffered in Ireland from invasions, local wars, rebellions, outlawries, religious proscriptions, confiscations and famines.

An improvement in the Devlins' status has happily coincided with a lessening of those racial and religious enmities which have been all too obvious factors in the histories of Irish families. The prospect now seems more favorable for the final disappearance of such antagonisms and their replacement by a general entente among all peoples who are trying to create world conditions of peaceful co-operation.

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1) Encyclopaedia Britannica (1929 edition), under Genealogy, Vol. X, p. 104.

Sir Bernard Burke says (in Reminiscences Ancestral and Anecdotal, p. 11) that the Colonnas, Orsinis and Massimis of Rome can boast of a more remote descent than that of the nobility of France, Spain or Germany, but none of these Roman families antedate the tenth century A.D. (Almanach de Gotha, pp. 446, 535, 572). The pedigrees of few English families extend prior to the Norman Conquest in 1066. According to the Almanach de Gotha, no royal or mediatized family even claims an ancestor living earlier than the ninth century A.D. Most of them, including the Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns, who both date from the eleventh century, are of much more recent origin. In his History of Europe During the Middle Ages (Vol. I, p. 17), Henry Hallam says: "The family of Capet is generally admitted to possess the most ancient pedigree of any sovereign line in Europe. Its succession through males is unequivocally deduced from Robert the Brave, made governor of Anjou in 864, and father of Eudes, King of France. . ." The comparisons of Milesian with other European families are, of course, solely concerned with relative antiquity, and not with questions of past historical importance or present status.

Surpassing anything found in Europe are some Asiatic pedigrees. As an instance, in Ancient China Simplified, by E. H. Parker, opposite p. 81 is the photograph of a blandly distinguished looking Chinese gentleman who is the hereditary "Propagating Holiness Duke", 76th in descent from Confucius (B.C.551-479).

2) Milesian has often been used loosely by Macaulay and other writers as an adjective descriptive of the Irish who inhabited the island before the Norse and Norman invasions. Although the O'Devlins, belonging as they did to the Progeny of Conn, were classed by the genealogists as Milesians, there were tribes in many parts of Ireland that claimed a different origin. Some of them, like the Firbolgs, were supposed to have been in possession of the country before the coming of the Milesians themselves. Milesian, however, is a convenient adjective to employ for reference to members of the ancient genealogical system, since Gaelic or Celtic are not only too general, applying as they do equally to Ireland and to Scotland, but even from a strictly ethnological point of view such terms would not be inclusive. "Indigenous" is also misleading, on account of the successive waves of invasion that reached Ireland from other European countries in ancient times. It should be remembered, however, that Milesian, as used in this book, has no historical significance, since the story of Milesius and his descendants is now recognized by Irish historians as legendary.

3) Eoin MacNeill, Celtic Ireland, preface, p. xi; and Edmund Curtis, A History of Mediaeval Ireland, 2nd edition, p. xxvii.

4) Concerning the origin and former wide distribution of the clan system, see Alexander A. Goldenweiser, Early Civilization.

In speaking of the clan, John Fiske (The Discovery of America, Vol. III, p. 119) says that "it came to be a group of closely related patriarchal families, and such is the sort of clan we find in Old World history, for the most part, from the days of Esau to those of Rob Roy."

5) Edward Gibbon, The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Vol. I, p. 219. Referring to pre-Roman Britain, Gibbon sums up the vices inherent in a clan system. "The various tribes of Britons possessed valor without conduct, and the love of freedom without the spirit of union. They took up arms with savage fierceness; they laid them down, or turned them against each other with wild inconstancy; and while they fought singly, they were successively subdued." For similar conditions and characteristics among the Celtic tribes in Gaul, see Theodor Mommsen, The History of Rome, Vol. IV, Chap. VII.

6) H. T. Buckle, History of Civilization in England, Vol. II, p. 242.

Also see James Boswell, Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson. Boswell gives some of the economic reasons for the gradual loosening of ties between the clansmen and their chiefs at the time (1773).

7) The Evening Mail, Dublin, 194 - (exact date not known) says: "The O'Hares - an ancient Irish family going back to Niall of the Nine Hostages - are to unite and form a clan, or society of their own. All branches or members of families related to the original O'Hares are to be admitted to the society, as the O'Hares are not now numerous in Ireland. . ."

. In The Scottish Clans and Their Tartans, published in 1949, there are said to be seventeen Scottish clan societies of the kind planned by the O'Hares. In this book there are colored illustrations of ninety-six clan tartans, and it is stated that there are at present fifty-eight Scottish chiefs who are heads of their clans, as well as nine doubtful and five dormant titles whose legitimate holders have not yet been determined. In comparison, it will be seen in note 70 to chapter II, that there are only fourteen Irish chiefs whose titles are now recognized by the Genealogical Office in Dublin Castle, whose functions are similar to those of the Lyon King of Arms in Scotland.

The Irish annals and genealogies have no counterpart in Scotland, nor in point of antiquity and volume in any other European country. According to The Scottish Clans and Their Tartans, even the oldest native Scottish clans have no records of their histories or genealogies that extend to an earlier date than the eleventh century, and most of them had their origin in much more recent times. Some Scottish clans, it is true, claimed an Irish origin, and boasted of a Milesian descent. Most of these claims were invalid, but a few may have been genuine, of which one of the best authenticated seems to have been that of the MacNeils of Barra.

8) A. S. Green, The Old Irish World, p. 34.

9) "Eponymous ancestor", or "eponym", are terms generally used by Irish historians for those ancestors from whose names the patronymics of Milesian Irish families are derived by the addition of Mac (son of), or O' (grandson of). It is unfortunate that "eponymous" is so frequently used, in other connections, for mythological ancestors. It should be noted, however, that there was nothing mythological about the eponymous ancestors of Milesian septs, who were all historic characters living well within the historical period in Ireland.

Careful as the ancient Irish were in the preservation of genealogies, and voluminous as are the works of their genealogists still extant, some of their records are obviously defective, even for the main stems of septs. Much greater difficulties in establishing the details of

descents must have been encountered among collateral branches. For examples of such lacunae turn to Appendix I of this book, where it will be found that the pedigree of the O'Devlins' eponym is certainly defective as given in the Books of Ballymote and Lecan, and in the Genealogies of Duaid MacFirbis. Only the Genealogy of O'Clery seems to give the correct descent from Owen, founder of the clan, to Devlin, who supplied the family with its patronymic.

The Romans, like the Irish, sometimes found it difficult to establish detailed pedigrees for individual members of their clans after many centuries had elapsed from the days of their eponyms. In The History of Rome, Vol. I, p. 94, Theodor Mommsen says that the Roman gens, which corresponded to the Irish clan; "comprehended all those who, while claiming to be descended from a common ancestor, were no longer fully able to point out the intermediate links and thereby to establish the degree of their relationship. This is very clearly expressed in the Roman names; when they speak of 'Quintus, son of Quintus, grandson of Quintus, and so on, the Quintian'; the family reaches as far as the ascendants are designated individually, and when the family terminates the clan is introduced supplementarily, indicating derivation from the ancestor who has bequeathed to all his descendants the name of 'children of Quintus!'" The Caesars, for instance, were a branch of the patrician Julian gens, but it is doubtful whether Julius Caesar, while enjoying the political rights appertaining to all who claimed descent from its founder, could have produced a detailed lineage connecting himself with the eponym of his gens.

10) See note 1 to Appendix I.

11) Eoin MacNeill, Phases of Irish History, p. 289.

12) H. T. Buckle, History of Civilization in England, Vol. II, p. 159; Eoin MacNeill, Phases of Irish History, p. 291, et seq. Also see note 38 to chapter II of this book for surnames in Munterevlin, and notes 8 and 9 to chapter III for surnames in other Irish territories.

In many of its aspects Ireland of the clan days resembled China during the age of Confucius. The position of the Chinese emperor in those days was analogous to that of the Irish high-king; there were in both countries the same internal wars between petty states; the same involved genealogical systems, and the same policy of creating appanages for princes of the ruling families. The Chinese and Irish annalists are similar in their style, their outlook, and in their method of recording events. Irish cognomens, or nicknames, likewise have their counterparts in those of the ancient Chinese. These chance resemblances between two peoples entirely unconnected, indicate the similarities that may arise in the development of cultures based on a clan system. (See Ancient China Simplified, by Edward Harper Parker, and for similar Japanese clan system see Lafcadio Hearn, Japan.)

13) Various maps of Ireland have been prepared, showing the locations of septs in the clan days, the most recent and authoritative of which is that of Dr. E. MacLysaght, Chief Genealogical Officer, photostatic copies of which may be obtained from the Genealogical Office in Dublin Castle. Unfortunately this map is not yet complete and numerous septs mentioned in this book are not yet shown on it, although additions are made from time to time as the evidence for their inclusion is judged to be sufficient. In any case the locations indicated are of a general nature, necessarily so in many cases because of the unsatisfactorily

vague knowledge we still have of tribal boundaries. It is also difficult to show correctly the relative positions of septs on any but large-scale maps, as will be seen in the case of the O'Devlins and their immediate neighbors on this small-scale map. The former are placed correctly west of Lough Neagh, as on other maps, but the space is so limited that of necessity the O'Hagans and the O'Mellons appear to their south, although we know that their territories were actually situated respectively to the west and southwest of Munterevlin.

Septs such as the O'Corrs, the MacMurroughs of Muintir Birn, and the branch of the MacDonnells in Tyrone, do not appear on the copy of the map in the author's possession, although their general locations would appear to be indicated on what appears to be sufficient evidence. Absent from Dr. MacLysaght's map are also the Tyrone O'Quinns, a sept of historical importance, and the O'Connelans, both mentioned by Sir Toby Caulfield in connection with the O'Devlins at the time of the Confiscations. For the locations of these septs reliance has been placed, in the absence of better authority, on the map prepared by Philip MacDermott for Owen Connelan's edition of The Annals of the Four Masters, in 1846, although the data contained on a map made more than a century ago may not be accurate. Consequently the locations given to the O'Quinns and the O'Connelans in the text should be regarded as of a decidedly tentative nature.

For the first edition of this book a small tribal map was prepared for the convenience of the reader, but it proved to be so unsatisfactory and misleading that it has not been reproduced in later editions. All of which leads to the conclusion that, in the present state of our knowledge, a fairly large-scale map of modern Ireland will best serve the purpose of the general reader in locating the territories of the O'Devlins and of the septs mentioned in connection with them. For his own information the author has placed these septs on a large outline map of Ireland such as is used for school purposes, and if the reader takes sufficient interest in the subject he is advised to do the same, from data supplied in this book.

There are also maps mentioned in the text, such as the Map of 1610, and others dating from the time of the Confiscations; maps of parishes contained in The Memorial Atlas of Ireland, and the Ordnance Survey maps of townlands, that may be used for a more detailed study of the boundaries of Munterevlin in the clan days. These have not been reproduced in this volume because they might give an erroneous impression of exactitude in the portrayal of the sept's territory. It must be confessed that after many years of investigation, although it is believed that the general location of ancient Munterevlin has been ascertained with certitude, its exact dimensions, especially towards the north, unfortunately still remain vague.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1) R.A.S. Macalister, The Archaeology of Ireland, p. 25.

2) Rev. John Ryan, Ireland from A.D. 800 to A.D. 1600, p. 150.

3) For an account of the Brehon Law as applied to the tenure and hereditary transmission of land see Eoin MacNeill, Celtic Ireland, Chap. X; Philip Wilson, The Beginnings of Modern Ireland, pp. 51-52; and P. W. Joyce, A Smaller Social History of Ancient Ireland, pp. 85-86.

4) Mary Hayden and G. A. Moonan, A Short History of the Irish People, p. 60.

5) "The ruling races were pedigree-proud to a fault, for genealogies which proved a man's noble descent proved also his claim to land. That your ri (king or ruler) should be of kindred blood to you, near or remote, was an essential." Edmund Curtis, Mediaeval Ireland, 1st edition, p. 18.

6) Eoin MacNeill, Celtic Ireland, p. 132.

7) For further information about the Milesian genealogies see Eoin MacNeill, Celtic Ireland, Chapters III and IV, and his Phases of Irish History, Part IV. P. W. Joyce says: "The confidence of the learned public in the ancient Irish genealogies is somewhat weakened by the fact that they profess to trace the descent of the several noble families from Adam. . . But passing this by and coming down to historic times, the several genealogies, as well as those scattered portions of them found incidentally in various authors, exhibit marvelous consistency and have all the marks of truthfulness. Moreover they receive striking confirmation from incidental references in English writers - as for instance Venerable Bede. Whenever Bede mentions a Scot or Irishman and says that he was the son of so-and-so, it is invariably found that he agrees with the Irish genealogies if they mention the man's name at all." A Short History of Gaelic Ireland, pp. 33, 34.

8) R. A. S. Macalister, The Archaeology of Ireland, Chapter IV. Also see Eoin MacNeill, Celtic Ireland, p. 60.

Even in the absence of written records from pagan times, of which some authorities question the existence, except for brief pedigrees on ogham stones, detailed genealogies may very well have been preserved by memory alone over many centuries. The remembrance of genealogical details must have been extraordinarily acute in pagan days, not only in the class whose profession it was to preserve them, but also among the laity, if the example of Queen Maeve's account of her lineage in the opening lines of the Táin is at all typical. During her "pillow-talk" with Ailill, she casually recites her pedigree for ten generations in the male line.

As late as the first half of the nineteenth century John O'Donovan found another example of such genealogical remembrance. In an Ordnance Survey Letter, written from Carn in Donegal (Aug. 21, 1835), he speaks of meeting a John O'Dogherty who recited to him his pedigree for thirteen generations, to a well-known ancestor who died in 1413, and further stated that in his grandfather's time all the respectable branches of the O'Doghertys were able to give similar detailed pedigrees. O'Donovan says that the thirteen generations seemed to be accurate, since they were in accordance with the average number to be expected over a period of four centuries.

In The Scottish Clans and Their Tartans (1949), under the heading McNeill of Colonsay, it is said that the children of this sept "were made to repeat their genealogy backwards in Gaelic, on Sundays, perhaps a survival of the manner in which old clan genealogies were preserved."

Hirota, the Japanese genealogist, observes that "men must have had stronger memories in the days before they acquired the habit of trusting to written characters for facts which they wished to remember - as is shown at the present time in the case of the illiterate. . ." (Lafcadio Hearn, Japan, p. 135).

Nowadays it is true that we have no such recollection of pedigrees as above described, but our failure in this respect is perhaps owing rather to a lack of incentive than to weakness of memory. Among English-speaking schoolchildren of the present day there are many who can recite in their proper order more than thirty kings of England or presidents of the United States. Genealogy constituted a science for the Irish, and the genealogists must have memorized its details as a modern chemist memorizes formulas. Therefore, unless it can be shown that there was a political reason for fabrication, and of this there is no indication in this case, there seems to be no inherent impossibility that the genealogical chart contained in this volume may be correct even for pagan days, at least as far back as the time of Conn of the Hundred Battles. According to Dr. Eoin MacNeill, the average length of generations in ancient Ireland was thirty-four years. If the generations from Conn, in the second century, to Devlin, the eponymous ancestor in the eleventh, are reckoned on this basis, it will be seen how closely they approximate to this average.

The ancient Greek genealogical system presents many points of similarity to that of the Irish (See Sir George Grote, A History of Greece, Vol. I, Chap. VI; and J. B. Bury, A History of Greece, Chap. I). Archaeological discoveries since the days of Grote have led to the belief that the epic poetry of the Heroic Age in Greece had a more solid foundation in fact than he assigned to it, but the historicity of the corresponding Red Branch and Fenian Cycles in Ireland, with their accompanying genealogies, has not yet received similar corroboration. There is, of course, no necessary analogy between Greek and Irish history, and the present general acceptance by Greek scholars of a factual basis for the Trojan War does not make the War of the Táin, for instance, any less mythical; but the results of research in other fields indicate that caution should be used in classing early Irish events and genealogies as wholly fabulous, because they may contain obviously mythical embellishments.

Wherever we encounter a clan system we find the same attention paid to genealogical details. In Japan "those who make it their province to study genealogies can tell from a man's ordinary surname who his most remote ancestor must have been," (Lafcadio Hearn, Japan, p. 132); and the same is true of many Irish surnames. In his History of the Arabs, p. 28, Philip K. Hitti says of the Arab: "He is excessively fond of prodigious genealogies and often traces his lineage back to Adam. No people other than the Arabians have ever raised genealogy to the dignity of a science." (Professor Hitti would find at least one exception to his statement among the Irish.) In his Wanderings in Arabia, p. 39, Charles M. Doughty says of an Arab sheikh that he "told me upon his fingers his twelve home-born ancestors: this is nearly four centuries."

Among the South Sea islanders, in the absence of written documents, genealogies have been preserved by memory alone. In his Voyage of the Beagle, p. 414, Charles Darwin speaks of a Maori genealogist who, instead of using his fingers as did the Arab sheikh, employed "bits of stick driven into the ground by way of illustration and as an aid to memory in the absence of written records." According to Vilhjalmar Stefansson, in Great Adventures and Explorations, p. 91, every Maori in New Zealand can not only trace his individual descent from an original colonist, but can name the vessel in which his forebears arrived from central Polynesia about A.D. 1350.

9) John O'Hart, The Last Princes of Tara.

10) From the Genealogies of Duaid MacFirbis, as quoted by A. S. Green, A History of the Irish State to 1014, pp. 14, 15. Mr. Terence Rafferty observes that early Irish love poems are rarely addressed to brunettes; pure blondes are the favorites. (See Robin Flower's introduction (p. xxvi) to Dánta Grádha.)

Since the blond Celtic conquerors in Wales also encountered in that country an indigenous race of brunets, the same bias in favor of a blond complexion is found among the Welsh clans, whose history, customs, legends and genealogies display many similar features to those of the Irish. Owen M. Edwards, Wales, p. 13, etc.

In Early Irish History and Mythology, pp. 17, 18, 102, 164, 165, 208; T. F. O'Rahilly denies any kinship between the Heremonians of Leinster and the Progeny of Conn; and dates the probable arrival of the latter in Ireland sometime between B.C. 150 and 50.

11) Dr. Eoin MacNeill (Celtic Ireland, pp. 12, 57, 61) believes that neither histories nor genealogies are reliable in detail prior to A.D. 300, and agrees with Professor Macalister (The Archaeology of Ireland, p. 21) that Cormac mac Art is the first figure in Irish history that can be considered unquestionably historical. Other historians, such as M. Hayden and G. A. Moonan, in A Short History of the Irish People, p. 14, and Edmund Curtis, in A History of Mediaeval Ireland, 2nd edition, p. xx, believe that Conn of the Hundred Battles was the genuine ancestor of the Progeny of Conn; while Mrs. A. S. Green, in A History of the Irish State to 1014, p. 39, appears undecided as to his authenticity. Even if, as some maintain, Conn was a god (if not the namesake of a god) he may nevertheless have been an ancestor subsequently deified by his descendants, since the Irish mythology may well have largely evolved from ancestor worship, a form of religion often associated with a clan system. (For discussion of early prevalence of ancestor worship in a clan system see Lafcadio Hearn, Japan, p. 95, where it is stated: "Altogether there were in ancient Japan after the beginning of the historic era, 1182 clans, great and small, and these appear to have established the same number of cults." In Ireland the family banshees may represent the vestigial remnants of similar cults.)

On the other hand the most critical authority so far consulted as to the early genealogies is T. F. O'Rahilly who, in Early Irish History and Mythology (pp. 221, 281-285), takes Niall of the Nine Hostages, son of Eochaidh, as the first undoubtedly authentic ancestor of the Clan Owen. Oddly enough in Chapter VIII Professor O'Rahilly expresses his opinion that the historicity of Tuathal Teachtmair, supposed grandfather of Conn of the Hundred Battles, is more probable than that of Conn himself. The whole question is so involved, and so little concerns the history of any

individual sept such as the O'Devlins, that the author will refer his readers to the authorities mentioned for further information on this subject. Until we reach the fifth century, a liberal use of the adverbs "perhaps" and "maybe" is advisable, in statements dealing with early Irish history.

Concerning the evaluation of legendary history by modern historians the following remarks by A. J. Symonds (Renaissance in Italy, Vol. III, pp. 74, 75) are worthy of consideration: "Instead of accurate dates and well established facts he finds a legend, rich apparently in detail, but liable at every point to doubt, and subject to attack by plausible conjecture. In the absence of contemporary documents and other trustworthy sources of instruction, he is tempted to substitute his own hypotheses for tradition and to reconstruct the faulty outlines of forgotten history according to his own idea of fitness. The Germans have been our masters in this species of destructive, dubitative criticism; and it is undoubtedly flattering to the historian's vanity to constitute himself a judge and arbiter in cases where tact and ingenuity may claim to sift the scattered fragment of confused narration. Yet to resist this temptation is in many cases a plain and simple duty. Tradition when not positively disproved, should be allowed to have full value; and a sounder historic sense is exercised in adopting its testimony with due caution, than in recklessly rejecting it and substituting guesses which lack of knowledge renders insubstantial. Tradition may err about dates, details and names. It is just here that antiquarian research can render valuable help. But there are occasions when the perusal of documents and the exercise of what is called higher criticism afford no surer basis for an opinion. If in such cases a legend has been formed and recorded, the student will advance further toward comprehending the spirit of his subject by patiently considering what he knows to be in part a mythus, than by starting with the foregone conclusion that the legend must of necessity be worthless, and that his cunning will suffice to supply the missing clue."

12) For details concerning these clans see Eoin MacNeill, Celtic Ireland, p. 52 et seq.

13) Interpolations occasionally occur in the Milesian genealogies for the benefit of Scottish families, since their inclusion did not appear so unreasonable to the Irish, not only because of racial and linguistic affinities between the two peoples, but also because of the considerable number of Irish Milesian septs that had settled in Scotland. The Scotch must also have known that their Gaelic-speaking ancestors, the Scots, had in bygone days come from Ireland, although, with a few exceptions, no genealogies connecting them with their Irish kinsmen had been preserved in Scotland, nor annals dealing with this remote migration. In Celtic Scotland (Vol. I, Chapter IX), William F. Skene deals with the spurious Milesian genealogies of some Scottish clans, and discusses the considerations of prestige that induced their fabrication. In Phases of Irish History, p. 334, Dr. Eoin MacNeill gives as examples of such interpolations several inserted for Scottish gallowglass families, including the MacSweeneys, MacDonnells, MacCabes, MacRorys, MacDowells, MacSheehys and others. Among apparently genuine Milesian families in Scotland there are the MacNeils. Their chief, The MacNeil of Barra, has published (1923) a history of his sept in which he shows that they are descendants of Niall of the Nine Hostages who settled in Scotland, in the Outer Hebrides, about A.D. 1030.

Other chiefs of Scottish clans who claim a Milesian origin, according to Burke's Landed Gentry of the United Kingdom (1925) are: The MacDonald, 23rd Chief of Clanranald; The MacDonnell, 21st Chief of Glengarry; The Mackinnon of Mackinnon, 35th Chief of Clan Fingon, and The MacGregor of MacGregor, a baronet who appears in Burke's Peerage. That some of their pedigrees are obvious interpolations in the Milesian genealogies shows the esteem in which the latter were held before the extinction of the clan system in Ireland.

As regards the Normans in Ireland, although many of their families became thoroughly hibernicized, spoke Irish, adopted Irish dress, Irish customs and the Brehon Law, their coming was too recent, their race too different, and their history too well known for any possibility of assimilation into the native genealogical system. Some of them, however, assumed names of an Irish form, as a branch of the Burkes who took the name of MacWilliam, and the De Exeters, who called themselves MacJordan. In general the heads of important Norman families were granted titles of an English form, such as Baron of Dunboyne, Baron of Louth, etc., whose only peculiarity is the preposition "of" which is never employed in England or Scotland for peers below the rank of an earl. The only Milesian family that now possesses a barony of this kind are the O'Briens, Barons of Inchiquin, whose ancestor received it as a recompense for relinquishing the native title King of Thomond. According to The Sligo Champion (Sept. 29, 1945), the Genealogical Office, Dublin Castle, has also confirmed to Sir Donough Edward Oster O'Brien, Bart., 16th Baron of Inchiquin, of New Market, Co. Clare, the Milesian title of The O'Brien.

There are also two hereditary knighthoods still extant among the descendants of the Normans in Ireland that are the only such titles in the British Isles; the Knight of Kerry and the Knight of Glyn, both held by the Fitzgeralds, and created by one of their ancestors in the thirteenth century, by virtue of his royal seignory as a Count Palatine.

14) S. Baring-Gould, Family Names and Their Story, Chapter II.

15) Cormac mac Art is said to have built the great banqueting hall at Tara, in the form of a Roman basilica. Its length was twice that of St. Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin, the largest church now standing in Ireland. R. A. S. Macalister, The Archaeology of Ireland, p. 21.

The Book of Ballymote says of Cormac mac Art: "His hair was slightly curled, and of golden colour; he had a scarlet shield with engraved devices, and golden hooks and clasps of silver; a wide-flowing purple cloak on him, with a gem-set gold shirt, embroidered with gold, upon him, a girdle with golden buckles, and studded with precious stones, around him; two golden net-work sandals with golden buckles upon his feet; two spears with golden sockets, and many red bronze rivets, in his hand; while he stood in the full glow of beauty, without defect or blemish. . ."

Many modern historians date the high-kingship from the reign of Conn of the Hundred Battles, but Dr. Eoin MacNeill believed that Cormac mac Art was the first high-king, Celtic Ireland, p. 12; while T. F. O'Rahilly (Early Irish History and Mythology, p. 234), and Edmund Curtis (A History of Mediaeval Ireland, 2nd edition, p. xv), think that the high-kingship originated with Niall of the Nine Hostages.

"High-king" (ard-ri) was the title used by the supreme ruler in Ireland at the time of the Norman invasion in the twelfth century, and this title had been employed for several centuries before that time, but

the original title was "King of Erin". Most Irish historians rather loosely use "high-king" in describing this office, from the time of its origin, and this designation has been used in this book, although most of the high-kings thus referred to were known by their contemporaries as Kings of Erin, or Éire.

16) Arthur Ua Clerigh says that there is not enough evidence to decide this point. The History of Ireland to the Coming of Henry II, p.107.

17) There are also some instances of those whose legal claims had lapsed nevertheless seizing the kingship by force. The most striking case of this kind was that of the Connachta who, after an exclusion from the high-kingship for nearly seven centuries, successfully asserted their claim to this honor when Turlough O'Connor became high-king in 1136. For other instances see Eoin MacNeill, Celtic Ireland, p. 128.

18) John Lynch, Cambrensis Eversus.

19) Geoffrey Keating, History of Ireland, p. 365.

20) Notes of B. MacCarthy to The Annals of Ulster, Vol. I, p. 18; P. W. Joyce, A Short History of Gaelic Ireland, p. 153; and Arthur Ua Clerigh, The History of Ireland to the Coming of Henry II, p. 91.

21) Douglas Hyde, Literary History of Ireland, pp. 67, 68.

Besides those mentioned in the text the following are a few of the many septs said by John O'Hart (Irish Pedigrees, Vol. II, pp. 577-578) to be of Clan Colla descent: MacCann, MacGrath, MacVeagh, O'Carroll, O'Flanagan, O'Hanlon, O'Hart, etc., etc.

22) Edmund Curtis, History of Mediaeval Ireland, 1st edition, p.424.

23) Dr. Douglas Hyde, in a contribution to the preface of Seumas MacManus, The Story of the Irish Race, p. xii; P. W. Joyce, A Short History of Gaelic Ireland, pp. 26, 27; and the introduction to The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, by J. H. Todd.

For a valuable study of dates and events in the Irish annals during the fifth century see Ludwig Bieler, Sidelights on the Chronology of St. Patrick, in Irish Historical Studies, Sept., 1949. The author reconciles various discrepancies and places the historicity of the events recorded on a sounder foundation than previous studies had effected.

24) For original division of this territory between the three brothers see Eoin MacNeill, Celtic Ireland, p. 88.

25) The Life of St. Grellan, quoted by John O'Donovan in Tribes and Customs of Hy Many.

26) One of the ancient names for Ireland.

27) The O'Kellys of Hy Many, representatives of this branch of the Clan Colla, later occupied the southern part of what is now the county of Roscommon. John O'Donovan's notes to The Annals of the Four Masters, under A.D. 751.

28) Eoin MacNeill, Celtic Ireland, p. 88 and Map III.

29) R. A. S. Macalister, The Archaeology of Ireland, pp. 170, 171; A. S. Green, History of the Irish State to 1014, p. 53; Eugene O'Curry, The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish (under Ailech). For representation of the fort in its present condition see Rev. John Ryan, Ireland from the Earliest Times to A.D. 800, p. 93.

30) John O'Hart, Irish Pedigrees, Vol. I, p. 713. According to another version of this tale, the incident referred to occurred in the conversion ceremonies of a Munster king. For Owen's characteristics, as taken from an old document, see Owen Connellan's notes to The Annals of the Four Masters, p. 439.

31) Erc is the nominative and Erca the genitive form of this name.

32) The Book of Fenagh states that she was the daughter of Loarn, King of Dalriada, whose territory was situated in the southwest of Scotland and in the northeast of Ireland. B. MacCarthy, in his notes to The Annals of Ulster, Vol. IV, pp. 144 and 278, says that Muirchertach was named for his mother.

33) J. A. Froude, Julius Caesar, p. 35.

34) In Celtic Ireland, p. 48, Eoin MacNeill records an exception to this general rule in which one of the ancestors in a Milesian genealogy is flatly stated to have been a god. For reference to fairies see Irish Fairy and Folk Tales (edited by W. B. Yeats), p. 1.

35) Eoin MacNeill, Celtic Ireland, pp. 49 and 52.

36) R. A. S. Macalister, The Archaeology of Ireland, pp. 225, 226.

37) Cenél maic Erca, i.e. Descendants of Erca.

38) A. S. Green, History of the Irish State to 1014, pp. 70-73. The quotation has been condensed and supplementary notes added to those in the text.

39) "The Battle of Ocha (483) was singled out by the earliest chronicler we know, Cuana (c. 609), as marking one of the leading epochs in old Irish history. The reign of Conchobor mac Nessa in the northern Fifth; the reign of Cormac at Tara; and the Battle of Ocha; so he reckoned the three great stages of the story. . ." A. S. Green, History of the Irish State to 1014, p. 68.

40) "In every Irish state the succession of kings followed a definite and complicated law of inheritance. Under this law a great-grandfather, his sons, grandsons and great-grandsons - four generations - constituted a derbfine, or true family. If a man died all the living members of the derbfine to which he belonged became his heirs, and his property was divided among them in proportions fixed by law. When the fifth generation came forward the derbfine was subdivided itself into a new set of similar groups, the head of each being a son of the man who was head of the older group, on whose death the group of the old derbfine was closed. The hand was the symbol of the derbfine, the palm representing the common ancestor and the joints of the fingers the three generations of his descendants. 'The nail in front of the fingers' was the proverbial phrase for the last of the inheritors." A. S. Green, History of the Irish State to 1014, p. 69.

The Irish system was closer to the Roman than to the English law of inheritance. See Edward Gibbon, The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Vol. IV, pp. 490, 491.

41) Eoin MacNeill, Phases of Irish History, pp. 190, 231.

42) Dál Cuinn or Síol Cuinn, i.e. the Progeny of Conn.

43) See the poems of Flann Mainistrech in Archivium Hibernicum, II, pp. 50, 64, 75, 76.

44) The Annals of the Four Masters, pp. 173, 175; The Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 529; The Annals of Ulster have the following entry for the year 533; "The drowning of Muirchertach mac Erca, son of Muireadach, son of Eoghan, son of Niall Nine-Hostager, in a vat full of wine in the fort of Clotech over the Boyne."

45) The Rev. John Ryan says of St. Columba: "Born at Gartan in Donegal in A.D. 522, he came of the noblest lineage in the land, for his father's father was Conall Gulban, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, and his mother's grandfather was Fergus mac Erca, who founded the Irish

kingdom of Dal Riata in Scotland." Ireland from the Earliest Times to A.D. 800, pp. 91, 92.

46) A.S. Green, History of the Irish State to 1014, p. 132.

47) For information about St. Carnech see John O'Donovan's notes to The Annals of the Four Masters, Vol. VI, p. 2426; Rev. Thomas Walsh, The Ecclesiastical History of Ireland; Bishop Moran's notes to Archdall's Monasticon Hibernicum, p. 313. A poem in The Book of Fenagh (p. 313) makes reference to St. Carnech's connection with Drumleene (Druim Lighean) and to the tribute owing to his monastery from that territory, in which he had been given land by his aunt Erca, mother of Muirchertach mac Erca.

48) In his notes to The Topographical Poem of John O'Dugan, etc., John O'Donovan gives the dates for forty-six eponymous ancestors of Milesian septs. Of these six lived before A.D. 900; twenty-two during the tenth century; seventeen during the eleventh century, and one after the year 1100. The earliest on his list is the eponym of the O'Clerys, who flourished about A.D. 850, and the latest is the ancestor of the MacEochys, who died in 1290.

Unfortunately one of the most prolific writers on Irish surnames, John O'Hart, author of Irish Pedigrees, fell into the error of ascribing the origin of Milesian family names to progenitors of an impossibly early date. In his own case he gives Art, son of Conn of the Hundred Battles, as eponymous ancestor of his family. Following O'Hart's example, other writers of the nineteenth century, such as B. W. De Courcy (Genealogical History of the Milesian Families of Ireland) and John Rooney (Genealogical History of Irish Families), made the same mistake. Although the above mentioned writers, and others of their contemporaries, did much to arouse interest in a subject then little known, and served a useful purpose by collecting and preserving records that might otherwise have been lost or overlooked, their books should be read with caution. They all attempted an almost impossible task in trying to cover the broad field of Irish surnames and family histories at a time when too little information was available on the subject. Each Irish surname presents a separate, and frequently a difficult and involved problem in itself. Only after many individual studies of Irish septs have been made will it be possible for some future historian to compile a trustworthy book of the kind that these pioneers attempted.

49) C. L. Ewen, A History of the Surnames of the British Isles, p. 18; P. W. Joyce, A Short History of Gaelic Ireland, pp. 118, 119; John O'Hart, Irish Pedigrees, Vol. I, p. 187.

Mr. Terence Rafferty says: "The 'O' before an Irish surname should, strictly speaking, carry a long accent, as it is merely an abbreviated form of 'Ua.' However, for centuries it has been pronounced short, and so practice varies. Personally, I always mark it long, partly for historical reasons and partly from force of habit, but I know at least one scholar who never places the accent over the O of his own name." No attempt has been made at uniformity in this volume, the O being generally accented or not according to the practice of the authority quoted.

"Mac" was used almost exclusively in forming Scottish patronymics. Among several hundred surnames in The Scottish Clans and Their Tartans, pp. 30-52, there are only five with the prefix O' (O'Drain, O'May, O'Shaig, O'Snannachan, and O'Shannaig) and these are all septs of one clan, i.e. MacDonald. Although the O' is not now used with.

Scottish surnames. May and Shannon (apparently a corruption of Shan-nachan) appear in the list of surnames given in this book, both specified as offshoots of the Clan MacDonald.

50) Rev. Patrick Woulfe, Irish Names and Surnames; C. L. Ewen, A History of Surnames of the British Isles, p. 18.

51) Feradaeh is the nominative and Feradaig the genitive form of the name. For references to these sub-clans see notes of B. MacCarthy to The Annals of Ulster, Vol. IV, pp. 59, 62, 63; also Edmund Hogan, Onomasticon Goedelicum, under the several headings.

52) In Celtic Ireland, p. 124, Eoin MacNeill says that before the Ulster Plantation the chief landed nobility in this territory "belonged to the sub-septs of Cenél Eoghain, such as Cenél mBinnig, Cenél Feradaig, Cenél maic Erca, etc." As an exception, the O'Hagans claimed descent from Fergus, son of Owen, and brother of Muiredach and Binnech. See note 47 to Chap. II.

53) "The creation of overlords was a staple part of the policy of Irish kings from the beginning of the fourth century until the middle of the sixteenth. In most cases the new lord was a member of the king's family." Eoin MacNeill, Phases of Irish History, p. 178.

54) Maelfithrigh, slain 629; Muldoon, slain 681; Fergal, slain 722. The Annals of Ulster.

55) Quotations from a Middle Irish tract given in A.S.Green, History of the Irish State to 1014, p. 290.

Tara, the official capital in early times of the high-kings, whether they were elected from the northern or southern branch of the Descendants of Niall, was situated in Meath, the center kingdom. This explains the emphasis placed on "Kingship in the Center" in the passage quoted.

56) Eoin MacNeill, Celtic Ireland, p. 132.

57) According to The Book of Rights (p.36), about the year A.D.1000 Tullaghoge was the seat of a branch of the Clan Owen whose ruler was eligible to the high-kingship.

58) See Map III, in Eoin MacNeill, Celtic Ireland.

59) Eoin MacNeill, Celtic Ireland, pp. 124, 125.

60) For inaccessibility of Clan Owen and Clan Conall territories see Eoin MacNeill, Phases of Irish History, p. 328.

Not only did the provincial kings accord a formal precedence to the high-kings, but even the latter are supposed to have acknowledged a theoretical dependency in relation to the "King of the World", the Holy Roman Emperor. Needless to say that this relationship was of a wholly abstract nature, and it is doubtful if the emperors themselves had ever heard of it.

In this connection, James Bryce says, in The Holy Roman Empire, p. 203: "An interesting illustration of the power of the imperial idea in a country where one would have least looked for it, a country almost wholly cut off, during the earlier middle age from the ecclesiastical as well as the political influences of the European continent, has been supplied me by the kindness of Sir Henry Maine. In Ireland, before the English Conquest, the custom was for a chieftain or magnate, who seem to have usually had a superfluity of cattle, to give them out among his dependents to be pastured; and thus the expression 'to receive stock' from any one comes to denote the owning of a subordinate or vassal position, similar to that of the feudal tenant who receives land as a beneficium from his lord. Now the Brehon Law, after shewing how the

inferior princes of the island may receive stock from the King of Erin - the suzerain of the whole island, who however even when he existed, had little more than a titular authority - goes on to say 'When the King of Erin is without opposition. . . he receives stock from the King of the Romans.' "

61) Eoin MacNeill, Phases of Irish History, p. 265.

62) The Clan Owen provided thirteen high-kings and the Clan Conall eight. Seventeen high-kings were furnished by the southern branch of the Descendants of Niall. Arthur Ua Clerigh, The History of Ireland to the Coming of Henry II, pp. 416, 417.

Brian Boru was given an Heberian pedigree by the genealogists, but he appears actually to have been of Desian lineage and therefore a descendant of one of the submerged peoples who had been conquered by the "Milesians".

63) The Annals of the Four Masters.

64) For a good account of the work done by these missionaries see Chapters XXVIII and XXIX in The Story of the Irish Race, by Seamus MacManus. For Armagh as an educational center see Rev. John Ryan, Ireland from the Earliest Times to A.D. 800, p. 110. On p. 183 of A.S. Green, History of the Irish State to 1014, there is a map showing the location of these missions.

In A Study of History, p. 155, A. J. Toynbee says: "The period of Irish cultural superiority extends from the date of the foundation of the monastic university at Clonmacnois in Ireland, in A.D. 548, to the foundation of the Irish monastery of St. James at Ratisbon in 1090."

65) Eoin MacNeill, Phases of Irish History, p. 250.

66) Eoin MacNeill, Phases of Irish History, p. 255.

67) R. A. S. Macalister, The Archaeology of Ireland, p. 337.

68) John O'Donovan's notes to The Annals of the Four Masters, A.D. 915.

69) T. F. O'Rahilly, Measgra Dánta.

70) John O'Donovan, and Eoin MacNeill (in a review of the first edition of this book in Irish Historical Studies, Sept., 1939) both state that Drumleene was located in Tír Énna, which was land assigned to Énna, brother of Owen and Conall, in the fifth century. This land was later seized by the Clan Owen, and it was during the period of their rule that the appanage of Drumleene was assigned to Eochaidh, son of Domnall of Dabhall. Later the Clan Conall took over this territory, and eventually occupied the entire extent of what is now the county of Donegal.

71) For the interpretation of passages in the annals indicating the probable date when Munterevlin was first occupied by the ancestors of the O'Devlins, the author is indebted to Mr. Terence Rafferty, to Mr. James E. McGuire, and through Mr. Rafferty to Dr. James Hogan. For further information on this subject see the latter's article The Ua Briain Kingship in Telach Óc (Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, XL, Sect. C, pp. 186-254).

In Vol. I of Goddard Henry Orpen's Ireland under the Normans, is a map showing the land of the Fir Droma Lighean to the west of Lough Neagh, covering the section which the territories of Munterevlin and Ballydonnelly are represented as occupying, that is within the kingdom of Tulach Og (Tullaghoge) and north of Muintir Birn, which latter was the land of the MacMurroughs, associates of the O'Devlins as "true kerns" of O'Neill. This map pictures the country west of Lough Neagh

during the early years of the Norman penetration in Ireland, and apparently makes no attempt to do more than indicate the general location of various Milesian clans in western Ulster. The author is especially concerned with showing the spread of Norman power, which never reached as far as Tullaghoge. Taken literally, it shows the Men of Drumleene in possession of a broad belt of land reaching from the shores of Lough Neagh to and beyond the location of Ballydonnelly. It would give the impression that this branch of the Clan Owen was the first to occupy this section, in which no other names appear.

72) In the genealogies of The Book of Ballymote, the name of the eponymous ancestor is spelled in three ways, i.e. Dobholen, Doibhilen, and Dobhailen. In The Book of Lecan only the form Doibhilen is given; in MacFirbis it appears both as Doibhilen and Dobhuilen; and in O'Clery's Genealogy as Dobhoilen (See Appendix I to this volume for complete genealogies. The Irish form of Devlin should have an accent over the "e" of the last syllable, but this accent is often omitted in Irish manuscripts and no uniformity in this respect has been attempted in this book.)

Particular as we are of spelling at the present day, it seems almost incredible that three different spellings of the Irish forms of Devlin should appear at such short intervals in The Book of Ballymote, and two in the Genealogies of MacFirbis, but Mr. Rafferty says that this sort of laxity is common enough in compilations of this kind.

Speaking of the different spellings of the name, Dr. Eoin MacNeill has written the author that; "The first two syllables must represent three syllables of an earlier date. If they represented two, the name would be Doibhlén, that is the second syllable would lose its vowel when another syllable followed." If Dr. MacNeill is correct in his opinion any etymology of the name would be mere conjecture, since we have no knowledge of the missing syllable.

On the other hand, the Rev. John Ryan, Professor of Early and Mediaeval History at University College, Dublin, believes that the etymology is Do-bhail-én. Bail means "prosperity" (the "h" is merely a sign that the "b" is aspirated); do is the pejorative prefix used commonly to form an epithet; en is usually a diminutive suffix, but not necessarily so in personal names. Accordingly the whole name would mean "the unprosperous one". Dr. Ryan points out that many early Irish names were by no means flattering, and this is also true of many old Latin names. Examples of this kind are contained in books on Irish etymology by P. W. Joyce and the Rev. Patrick Woulfe. Mr. Terence Rafferty agrees with Dr. Ryan that this is probably the true meaning of the name. This derivation accords precisely with the form Dobhailen in The Book of Ballymote, and very nearly with Dobhuilen in MacFirbis and Dobhoilen in O'Clery. (For propitiatory purpose of apparently ill-omened or uncomplimentary names, see William Graham Sumner, Folkways, Chapter XIV.)

In his Surnames of the United Kingdom, Henry Harrison gives the following rather fanciful etymology: "Devlin (Celtic) for the Irish O Dobhailen - Descendant of Dobhalen - raging valor (Dobh=boisterous, raging, plus al for gal=valor, plus the diminutive suffix en.)" According to Irish etymologists, epithets denoting mental qualities such as bravery or fierceness, and diminutive or pet names, were frequently employed by the ancient Irish, but there is no form of the name in Irish, either in

the genealogies or annals, that contains a "g", consequently this etymology seems unlikely.

Both B. W. DeCourcy, in his Genealogical History of the Milesian Families of Ireland, p. 36, and John Rooney, in his Genealogical History of Irish Families, p. 341, give "defiance" as the meaning of Devlin in Irish. Neither of these writers gives the etymology in detail. It is possible that they based their deduction on the similarity of sound in the case of the Irish word for "defiance" to one method of pronouncing the surname, but as Mr. Rafferty points out, the spelling of dubhshlán (defiance) is entirely distinct from that of Devlin in any of its Irish forms. (In this case Rooney, whose book is of a popular rather than a scholarly sort, probably took his etymology from DeCourcy.)

In his Irish Family Names, p. 33, Patrick Kelly says that the name is derived from the diminutive of dhobhail, meaning one who daubs, plasters, a dauber. Mr. Rafferty says of this etymology: "There is no such word in Irish as 'dhóbháil', but there is a word 'dóbáil', meaning plastering or daubing, which has no connection with the surname."

In Surnames, p. 22, Ernest Weekley says that Devlin is derived from the Irish form of the city of Dublin (Dubhlinn meaning "black water"). The same etymology is given by A. W. Dellquist in These Names of Ours, p. 105; and by H. A. Long in The Names We Bear, p. 139. Such a derivation is manifestly impossible, so far as the Tyrone Devlins are concerned, for reasons advanced in the appendix to this volume dealing with the Devlins of Leinster.

Most absurd of all derivations so far encountered is that of H. A. Long in Personal and Family Names, p. 114. He says: "Eve (British) is from Aoiffe, daughter of Lear, whence Evelyn from which Devlin. Devlin is identical with Dublin by chance coincidence."

The first instances of the use of Devlin in any of its Irish forms date from the late ninth and early tenth centuries, when it appears three times in the annals. No earlier records of its use have so far been encountered either in the genealogies or in the annals. About the time that Devlin first appears, some Norse names such as Ragnall, Sitric, etc., were adopted by the Irish. In the case of a name whose etymology is so uncertain, there is an inclination to give it a foreign origin, but there seems to be no valid reason for ascribing such a derivation to Devlin.

73) According to The Annals of the Four Masters, it was the name of the Sligo O'Devlins' eponymous ancestor who died in 885. (His descendants may have anglicized their name as Dolan, not Devlin. See Appendix II to this volume.) The same annals give it as the name of a chief of the Hy Meith Macha, a branch of the Clan Colla in Monaghan, in the ninth century, and they cite an instance of its use by a cleric in the country of the Clanna Rury (in eastern Ulster), who died in 901. For obvious geographical and genealogical reasons none of the above could have been an ancestor of the Tyrone Devlins.

74) See note 48 to this chapter.

75) Garbh is the nominative and Gairbh the genitive form of this name.

76) Donnghal is the nominative and Donnghaile the genitive; the English form Donnelly is derived from the latter. For different explanations of O'Garve the author is indebted to Mr. James E. McGuire.

77) Rev. Patrick Woulfe, Irish Names and Surnames, p. 33.

78) See Appendix II for information about the Sligo O'Devlins.

79) Rev. John Ryan, Ireland from the Earliest Times to A.D. 800, p. 94.

80) See Edmund Curtis, History of Mediaeval Ireland, 2nd edition, under the heading DeLacy. On p. 107 of the same book is the following: "Simon de Rochefort, bishop of Meath (1198-1224) abolished the former Celtic sees of Trim, Kells, Skreen and Dunshaughlin, which had survived the synod of Kells, thus making Meath one great diocese."

81) After a study of the MacLoughlin genealogy, Mr. James E. McGuire concludes that they probably descended from Domnall of Dabhall.

82) See The Scottish Clans and Their Tartans; also Dugald Mitchell, History of the Highlands and Gaelic Scotland, under MacLachlan.

In Vol. III, p. 473, of Celtic Scotland, William F. Skene gives the detailed Clan Owen descent of the MacLachlans, which he qualifies with the adjective "supposed".

According to Edmund Curtis (A History of Mediaeval Ireland, 2nd edition, p. 94), a few of the defeated MacLoughlins sought refuge in Clan Conall territory "where they survived as inconsiderable land-owners in Inishowen, where their name is extant to this day."

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1) From Thomas Mathews, The O'Neills of Ulster, Vol. II, p. 98. In his translation Mathews gives the Irish form of O'Devlin as O'Dubhlin, but Mr. Terence Rafferty has examined John O'Donovan's edition of this poem (Miscellany of the Celtic Society, Dublin, 1849, Vol. I, p. 173), and finds that the nominative form of the surname would be Ó Duibhlín, for discussion of which see first page of Appendix V. "Banquet", in the poem, is only the editor's guess as to the meaning of a word that is illegible in the manuscript. For Irish form of Godfrey, see P. W. Joyce, The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places, p. 164.

2) A. S. Green, History of the Irish State to 1014, p. 355.

Olaf the White's descendants settled in Iceland, where they married into the family of Gudrid who, according to the sagas, accompanied her husband to America in 1020, and there gave birth to the first white child known to have been born on American soil. G. M. Gathorne-Hardy, The Norse Discoverers of America, pp. 18-20. For descent of Olaf the White see Hjalmar H. Boyesen, Norway, pp. 40, 45.

3) In The Story of the Irish Race, pp. 183, 186, Seumas MacManus says of these hereditary poets: "The chief duties of his office, as king's file, were to keep in verse the historical, genealogical and legal records; to prepare for the public special poetic accounts of particular actions in which the people were engaged; and to sing the feats of the champions, the hospitality of the princes and the charms of the women."

The Irish bards were regarded by the English as "inspirers of rebellion." The following is amusing as a hostile account of their profession by an English author, taken from Smythe's Information for Ireland (1561): "If there is anye man descended of the septs of O's and Macs and half a dowsen about them, then will they make him a rime, wherein they will commend his father, and his aunchestours, nowmbyring howe many heads they have cut of, howe many townes they have burned, howe many virgins they have defloured, howe many notable murthers they have done, and in the ende they will compare them to Anniball, or

Scipio or Hurcules or some other famous person; wherewithall the pore foole runs madde and thinkes indeed it is so." (Quoted in E. Boyd Barrett, The Great O'Neill, p. 18.)

4) James F. Kenney, The Sources for the Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, Vol. I, pp. 20,21. The other bardic sept in Tyrone were the O'Gnives, whose name has been anglicized as Agnew.

5) Thomas Mathews, The O'Neills of Ulster, Vol. II, p. 98.

6) Edmund Curtis, A History of Mediaeval Ireland, (1st edition), p. 45.

7) John O'Donovan's notes to The Annals of the Four Masters, Vol. II, p. 582.

8) E. Boyd Barrett, The Great O'Neill.

9) John O'Donovan's notes to The Annals of the Four Masters, Vol. VI, p. 1404.

10) John O'Donovan's notes to The Annals of the Four Masters, pp. 2426, 2427.

11) The Civil Survey of Ireland, (1654-1656) gives the names of no Devlin landholders in the barony of Dungannon, where their former territory was situated.

12) According to the oral tradition of Tyrone as related by Mr. John Devlin and Dr. J. G. Devlin, who were both born in the electoral division of Munterevlin. Although no written corroboration of this tradition has been found, it is obvious that the O'Devlins occupied a privileged position in the entourage of O'Neill, and may very well have figured in ceremonies, such as those accompanying an inauguration, as Sword-bearers.

13) Notes of Owen Connellan to The Annals of the Four Masters, p.66; and P. W. Joyce, A Short History of Gaelic Ireland, pp. 114-117. For description of kern in 1566 by English traveler see Edward M. Hinton, Ireland through Tudor Eyes, pp. 3,4.

At the time when this description was written the dress of the native Irish and that of the Scottish Highlanders was similar. M. Nicolay d'Arfeville, Cosmographer to the king of France, who visited Scotland in the sixteenth century, writes: "They wear, like the Irish, a large and full shirt, coloured with saffron, and over this a garment hanging to the knee, of thick wool, after the manner of a cassock." It was after 1600 that the Scotch started the custom of wearing plaids and kilts. The Scottish Clans and their Tartans, p. 11.

14) The Book of Clandeboy, p. 45. This translation was very kindly made for the author by Mr. Terence Rafferty, in consultation with Professor Tadhg O Donnchadha, of University College, Cork.

15) John O'Donovan's notes to The Topographical Poem of John O'Dugan, etc., p.xix; B. MacCarthy's notes to The Annals of Ulster, Vol. IV, p. 238; John O'Hart, Irish Pedigrees, Vol. I, p. 822; Seamas MacCall, And So Began The Irish Nation, p. 449; and Thomas Mathews, The O'Neills of Ulster, Vol. II, p. 144.

The Rev. George Hill (An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster, p. 252) says of the MacCawells that they were numerous in the barony of Clogher during the seventeenth century, and since that time. Thomas Mathews, in The O'Neills of Ulster, Vol. II, p. 114, and John O'Hart, Irish Pedigrees, Vol. I, p. 520, both state that the MacCawells were hereditary advisers to the Kings of Ailech.

16) The O'Donnellys' contribution to O'Neill's forces has already

been given. According to John Rooney, in The Genealogical History of Irish Families, (in the section of the book devoted to the O'Hagans), it is said that the latter furnished O'Neill with 100 infantrymen and 30 cavalrymen, and according to Owen Connellan's notes to The Annals of the Four Masters, p. 659, the O'Quinns supplied 80 foot and 20 horse.

17) Notes of Owen Connellan to The Annals of the Four Masters, p. 66; and P. W. Joyce, A Short History of Gaelic Ireland, pp. 114-117. Writing in 1596, the English poet Edmund Spenser pays this tribute to the Irish cavalry: "I have heard some greate warriours say that in all the services which they had seen abroad in forrayne countreys, they never saw a more comely horseman than the Irish man, nor that cometh on more bravely in his charge." (Quoted by Thomas E. Healy in "Ireland at Play", in The Glories of Ireland.)

For account of Irish cavalry by Barnabe Rich see Edward M. Hinton, Ireland through Tudor Eyes, p. 5; and for horsemanship of King of Connaught see Edmund Curtis, A History of Mediaeval Ireland, 2nd edition, p. 112.

18) For the subject of totemism and present day Irish surnames said to be of totemistic origin, see Seamus MacCall, And So Began the Irish Nation, p. 59.

In 1873 the Ulster King of Arms made the following grant of a coat of arms to Jeremiah Devlin, a wealthy merchant of New York city: Azure, an Irish cross or between three mullets argent. Crest: A griffin passant gules charged on the shoulder with a cross or. Motto: Crux mea stella. In 1931 a patent of confirmation was issued by the Ulster King of Arms to the descendants of Richard Develin, a participant in the Irish Rebellion of 1798. These arms are blazoned as follows: Azure, a Celtic cross argent between three mullets of the last. Crest: A griffin passant gules, wings addorsed azure, mantled gules doubled argent. Motto: Crux mea stella.

Under the Irish republic the office of the Ulster King of Arms has been taken over by the Genealogical Office, which not only occupies the same office in Dublin Castle, and has fallen heir to the records of the Ulster King of Arms, but continues to perform similar functions to those of its predecessor. Although the propriety of such an institution under a republican regime has been questioned by some, it seems to have sufficient precedents not only at the present day in the Swiss republic, but in former times among the Italian city republics.

The above described are the only "official" records of the arms of the family, but they are also depicted in Patrick Kelly's Irish Family Names, p. 33, and colored representations appear in the plates attached to the books of B. W. DeCourcy (A Genealogical History of the Milesian Families of Ireland, No. 190); John Rooney (The Genealogical History of Irish Families, No. 47), and of John O'Hart (Irish Pedigrees, Plate 16, No. 135). The arms of Jeremiah Devlin also appear in Burke's General Armory, and the arms as depicted by DeCourcy and Rooney are given in colors in the first edition of this book.

The arms as given by DeCourcy, Rooney and O'Hart do not correspond with the "official" arms in the records of the Genealogical Office. The first two blazon these arms as follows: Azure, a Celtic cross argent between three mullets of the last. Crest: A griffin passant gules. Motto: Crux mea stella. In O'Hart's book they are: Azure, an Irish cross or between three mullets argent. Crest: A griffin

passant argent, charged on the shoulder with a cross sable. Motto: Crux mea stella.

Since heraldry is almost an unknown science for the general public at the present day, it may be helpful for the reader to put the above mentioned blazonings in non-heraldic terms.

1) The first word, "azure", means blue and describes the color of the shield on which the arms are displayed. This color is always the same.

2) Next a description of the "bearing" in the middle of the shield is given. In the arms of Jeremiah Devlin and in O'Hart's book this is described as an Irish cross, an attempted illustration of an actual Celtic cross. The color of this cross is or, i.e. gold. In the arms granted to the descendants of Richard Develin, and in the plates of DeCourcy and Rooney, this is an heraldic and not an actual cross, and the color is argent (silver) and not gold. (According to some authorities a Celtic cross, which is in form like a Latin cross with the junction of the arms and trunk enclosed in a circle, is a symbol of eternity. Professor Macalister, however, says that it represents "a halo of glory around the cross and the figure upon it." The Archaeology of Ireland, p. 327).

3) In all cases the cross is described as between three mullets, which are always argent, or silver. Two are placed above and to either side of the cross, and the other beneath it. Mullets, from the old French word molette, a spur rowel, are five-pointed star-shaped objects. In spite of the motto these are not stars, but representations of rowels. In heraldry stars are depicted with six waved points. Hugh Clark, An Introduction to Heraldry, p. 132.

4) The crest is always a griffin, an heraldic monster which is half lion and half eagle. It is represented as "passant", which means walking towards the left with raised wings back to back. In all instances except that in O'Hart's book, where it appears as argent (silver), the griffin appears as gules or red. In the plates of DeCourcy and Rooney the griffin is red all over. In the arms of Jeremiah Devlin it has a small gold cross on the shoulder and in O'Hart's book this cross is sable (black). In the arms granted to the descendants of Richard Develin the griffin is red, but the addorsed wings (i.e. raised and back to back) are azure (blue).

5) The motto is always the same, Crux mea stella, the translation of which phrase is given by both John O'Hart and Patrick Kelly as "The cross is my star". In the first edition of this book the translation appeared as "My cross is a star". Mr. H. L. Glasgow suggests that an equally good and more appropriate translation would be "My star is a cross". The author will leave it to the Latin scholars among his readers to decide which is the correct translation. All of them seem warranted, since the motto is ambiguous, perhaps purposely so.

6) When displayed as a "complete achievement", i.e. with the crest on a squire's helmet and mantling flowing from the helmet and framing the shield, the colors of this mantling, as it appears in the confirmation issued to the descendants of Richard Develin, are gules (red) lined with argent (silver). According to the usual English custom the mantling and its lining would be in the colors shown on the shield, i.e. blue and silver, but apparently the Ulster King of Arms was not governed by this English usage.

In the first two editions of this book the arms as depicted by DeCourcy and Rooney were taken to be the original form and of uncertain

antiquity, while the arms granted to Jeremiah Devlin were believed to be a variation on an earlier and simpler theme. This view was expressed to the Ulster King of Arms before the confirmation of arms was issued to the descendants of Richard Develin in 1931, and the words of the confirmation itself seemed to sustain this opinion, as it is said in this patent "whereas application has been made to me. . . setting forth that certain armorial ensigns have long been used and borne by this family which do not appear to have been heretofore recorded in my office as appertaining to them. . . know ye therefore that I, the said Ulster King of Arms, having taken the request of the applicants into consideration and having examined into the circumstances, am pleased to comply therewith. . ."

Fortunately before the publication of this third edition it occurred to the author to obtain the opinion on this subject of the Chief Herald. Writing from the Genealogical Office, Dublin Castle, the present incumbent of that office, Mr. Gerard Slevin, very kindly complied with the author's request in a clear and logical exposition of his views. The following are extracts pertinent to this inquiry taken from a letter dated October 27, 1950.

"I have made a study of the two patents recorded in our armorial registers and of the armorial sections of your history, and I think it will be most satisfactory if I give you, as briefly as possible, my own view of the whole matter. In the first place I do not think that your theory of the antiquity of the Devlin arms is tenable. It is possible that the chiefs of the name, or the clan, used certain armorial or quasi-armorial insignia, but I think it extremely improbable that they used a Celtic cross. It is a charge that is quite foreign to Irish arms, its use heraldically being of very recent growth. I would say that it is more than probable that the grant to Jeremiah Devlin is the earliest instance in our books.

Now, it is significant that the patent issued to Jeremiah Devlin in 1873 was a Grant of arms, that is to say a patent which brings into being new arms. We have no reason to suppose that this grant was an exception. If Mr. Devlin had been able to produce a record of arms anciently used by his family it is to be presumed that a Confirmation would have been issued. Further, while the Celtic cross is foreign to older Irish arms, it is precisely the kind of charge which Mr. Devlin - aware no doubt of the existence of the Arboe cross - would have regarded as symbolic and would have desired to incorporate in his arms. After 1873 then, the position was that certain arms, viz. Azure an Irish cross or, between three mullets argent; for Crest: A griffin passant gules charged on the shoulder with an Irish Cross as in the arms belonged to Jeremiah Devlin of New York and to his descendants and to the other descendants of his father, Jeremiah Devlin of Buncrana, and to them only.

In 1931, a patent of Confirmation was issued to the descendants of Richard Develin of the County of Donegal; this, I understand, was issued on your application. It is the practice when making a Confirmation (i.e. when ratifying certain already existing arms to a particular individual or group) to introduce small differences in the existing arms, making in effect a new and distinctive coat. It appears to me that the arms of Jeremiah Devlin were taken as the existing arms and the differences introduced were the changing of the metal of the cross, the dropping of the cross from the crest, and the changing of the griffin's wings to azure. The arms, Azure a Celtic cross argent between three

mullets of the last: For crest A griffin passant gules, wings addorsed Azure. belong therefore to the descendants of Richard Develin and to them only. The text of the patent is the usual form for Confirmations.

The position, then, is that as far as we are aware there are two, and only two, authoritative Dev(e)lin coats of arms in existence. Reproductions in general printed works do not really concern us; our experience is that they are often erroneous. This I fear is particularly true in the case of O'Hart; the reproduction you describe in your book is clearly meant to show the arms granted to Jeremiah Devlin in 1873. I think you will find that this grant predates the publication of the works to which you refer."

There seems little doubt that Mr. Slevin is correct in his opinion as to the time and circumstances under which these arms were first assumed. It is unfortunate that no correspondence with Jeremiah Devlin is to be found in the Genealogical Office, as such an exchange of letters might show from what source or sources the grantee derived his ideas for the arms. After the confirmation granted to the descendants of Richard Develin, it would appear that the Celtic cross, mullets, griffin and motto: Crux mea stella, are now established as the peculiar insignia of the family in all its branches, with such minor differences as the Genealogical Office may suggest or agree to as distinguishing various lines of descent.

19) A description of the cross appears in John O'Hanlon, Lives of the Saints, Vol. II, p. 655. Also see "Arboe, Co. Tyrone. Its Cross and Churches", by Francis Joseph Bigger and William J. Fennell, in The Ulster Journal of Archaeology, Vol. IV, October 1897, for picture of the cross and a detailed account of the ruins at Arboe. A photograph of this cross, with accompanying description, also appears in A Preliminary Survey of the Ancient Monuments in Northern Ireland, published in Belfast, 1940. Ardboe and Arboe are variant forms of this place-name.

20) R. A. S. Macalister, The Archaeology of Ireland, p. 326.

21) The Annals of Ulster. These annals also record under the date 1103, the death of a lay steward (erenagh) of this abbey, "a master of learning, liberality and poetry", who "died felicitously on his pilgrimage to Armagh."

22) O'Hanlon's book, mentioned above, quotes The Calendar of Cashel and The Martyrologies of Donegal as to the saint's festival, and gives his pedigree as taken from The Sanctilogic Genealogy.

23) The actual field work of the map referred to was completed in October, 1609, but it was not ready for use until 1610 (old style 1609), so the map is sometimes dated as of 1609 and at other times as of 1610. Dr. Séamus Ó Ceallaigh, to whom the author is indebted for a photostat of that portion of the map containing the O'Devlin territory, accompanied by a large-scale modern map showing the townlands included in the map of 1610, says: "At the time of the Flight of the Earls in 1607, a Commission was sent into Ulster by Chichester to map the country with a view to settling it according to the notions of those days. The report of that commission was lost, but was published for the first time in Analecta Hibernica, No. 3, Sept., 1931, after having been discovered in London by Dr. Charles MacNeill, brother to Dr. Eoin MacNeill. Maps were directed to be prepared by the Commission, but they seem to have been lost. As the work of the Commission was not thorough enough, a second Commission was sent north from Dublin in the year 1609. The

maps of that Commission were long lost, but about 1860 they were published by zincograph at Southampton by the British government. They are now out of print as a volume, though a few individual maps are to be had. Unfortunately Dungannon is not available. So I have had the corner which interests you photostated. Accompanying the photostat of the map of 1610, I have prepared for you a corresponding map of the modern townlands, and have demarcated the extent of the territory which bore the name of the O'Devlins. This map is officially known as 'Index to Townlands Map', and is made by the Ordnance Survey, Belfast. It is made on a scale of one inch to the mile and is intended to be merely an index to the larger 'six inch to the mile' map."

24) Referring to the Irish words signifying "upper" and "lower", P. W. Joyce says (in Irish Names of Places, Vol. II, p. 441) that they are used in an altitudinal sense, the lower indicating a lesser elevation, but Mr. Terence Rafferty says that more commonly lower means the northern and upper the southern part, as in this case. (Analecta Hibernica, p. 152, Sept., 1931; the same p. 357, Nov., 1944.) Sometimes, as with the Burkes in Connaught, there were separate chiefs for each such division.

Edmund Hogan, in Onomasticon Goedelicum, (p. 547), gives two spellings, i.e. Muintir Dobhilen and Muintir Doibhilen. John O'Donovan, in his letter quoted in the text, spells this place-name as Muintir Dhobhailen. The "h" following the "d" here denotes that "d" is aspirated, either because the word is adjectival to the feminine noun "Muintir", or else because it is the genitive of a proper name. Either reason would be valid, and both occur here, but for all that, the "h" is frequently omitted.

There are many anglicized forms of this place-name, corresponding with the whimsical methods of spelling prevalent in past centuries. In Revelin Yetra and Revelin Outra, the "r" is the only letter retained from Muintir, and the "d" has been eliminated. Mr. Rafferty says that the aspirated "d" is frequently silent in the Ulster dialect. In Hibernica or Some Antient Pieces Relating to Ireland, published by Edward Bates in Dublin (1747), on p. 108, the Stewart property is said to include Revelin Outra and Eightra, the latter representing still another variation in spelling. In the index to The Annals of Ulster, p. 277, the form given is Muintir-Evelin. Another form that appears in an early seventeenth century manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, is Munter Develin. (Analecta Hibernica p. 152, Sept., 1931.) In 1659 a lease was made in Munterevelinge Itragh of Stewart property in the townland of Mullaghnehegh (Mullanahoe), (Analecta Hibernica, p. 357, Nov., 1944.) In the name of the modern electoral division the two Irish words have been combined and the "d" and "e" eliminated, producing Munterevlin.

25) The location of north and south on maps of this part of Ulster in the seventeenth century was largely a matter of whim on the part of the cartographer. For examples of a wide variety in this respect see Rev. George Hill, An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster, pp. 198, 280, 283, 286, 288, 300, 303, 335, 340, 345.

26) Dr. Ó Ceallaigh says: "It is important to remember that the 1610 maps are maps only by report; that is to say no measurements were made by the cartographers. Petty's Survey, some fifty years later, made for the purpose of the next general despoiling, were the first maps made with chain and line."

Mr. H. L. Glasgow says: "Before the Ordnance Survey of just over a century ago the boundaries of land were very vague when, as in Munterevlin, there were bogs and woods which were not considered of any value at the Plantation." As can be seen by referring to grants of acreage to Andrew Stewart, Lord Ochiltree, as compared with the actual territory comprised in Revelin Yetra and Revelin Outra, only a small part of this land can have been regarded as utilizable for agriculture at the time of the Confiscations.

In Some Social Notes of the Ulster Plantation, the Earl of Belmore says: "The grants made to the Patentees or Adventurers under the Plantation of Ulster were usually of the nominal extent of either 2000, 1500 or 1000 acres. This extent was only nominal, because generally only profitable acres were counted, and a good deal of more or less reclaimable land was thrown in. On each 'proportion' or estate the grantee would be expected to build a 'castle' or fortified house."

There is a "Map of the Escheated Counties of Ulster, circa 1610. attributed to John Norden." (Printed in Analaecta Hibernica, No. 8, 1938, p. 299). On this map the location of Munterevlin approximates that of the large-scale map supplied by Dr. Ó Ceallaigh, although details are not given, since the scale of the map is small. On Norden's map the two portions of the O'Devlin territory are marked respectively Revelin Yeightra 1000, Lord Uchiltrie, and Revelin Outra, 2000, Lord Uchiltrie; another instance of the individualistic spelling of the seventeenth century. On the other hand Pynnar's Survey of 1618-1619, gives the area of Lord Uchiltree's (sic) grant as 3500 acres. The actual territory of the map is about five times the acreage that these figures would indicate, as can be seen by referring to the dimensions of the townlands included in the ancient Munterevlin, as they appear in the list appended to this volume. The estate of Andrew Stewart, with a list of these townlands often given in spelling very different from that of the present day, appears in Inquisitiones Ultoniae, Tyrone (Charles I 46), and is also given in Chapter VII of the Rev. George Hill's An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster. It would appear that the names of some townlands have been altered since those days, but nineteen in Revelin Yetra and eighteen in Revelin Outra may still be identified in their modern forms with those assigned to Andrew Stewart in the seventeenth century.

In No. 3 of Analecta Hibernica is printed Rawlinson Ms. A237, the Bodleian Library, Oxford. In a survey of the lands escheated in 1608, this manuscript gives under the barony of Dungannon: "Munter Develin, containing xx balliboes; Munterdevlin Oughtrah containing xii balliboes," and says "each balliboe containing one with another lx acres of arable land, meadow land and pasture." It also states in this connection: "Memorandum; The treasurie have valued each balliboe at xvi sterling per annum."

The editor says in a footnote: "At the time of the plantation of Ulster, the prevailing denomination of land in the counties of Down, Armagh, Tyrone and Derry was the ballybo, Irish bailé bó, meaning a cow land. In general the bailé bó was estimated at about sixty acres of pasture land, although occasionally in the county of Armagh it amounted to one hundred acres and even to one hundred and twenty acres." Dr. Ó Ceallaigh says that the townlands in Tyrone generally contained one ballybo, but occasionally two.

27) Ard-trea, now Artrea. In Griffith's Valuation (1860), there were shown to be more Devlin landholders (seventeen) in that parish than in any other in Londonderry.

In The Memorial Atlas of Ireland, Artrea is shown as lying principally in Londonderry, but extending across the Ballinderry into Tyrone, somewhat to the northwest of Munterevlin, as shown on the map of 1610. The northern part of Artrea, in Londonderry, has Lough Neagh on its east, but about two and a half miles north of the mouth of the Ballinderry River, it swings west, and its very irregular southern boundary skirts the parts of Ballinderry and Tamlaght parishes in Londonderry, and projects into Tyrone to the west of the last named parish. If, as seems probable, the northern part of Munterevlin, before the Confiscation, lay in Londonderry, it probably included the portions of Ballinderry and Tamlaght in that county, and a considerable part, if not all, of Artrea. Although not indicated on the map of 1610, there is also the possibility that Munterevlin took in that part of Artrea now in Tyrone, which would have brought the O'Devlins' 'property up to the parish of Lissan, known to have been O'Corr territory. The antiquity of these parish boundaries is attested by the complete indifference which they display to the modern county lines, here represented by the Ballinderry River.

28) John O'Hart, Irish Pedigrees, Vol. I, p. 823, and Vol. II, p. 12. For characteristics of the forest-dwellers north of the Ballinderry see the Rev. George Hill, An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster, p. 166.

29) Concerning a map that appears in Lough Neagh in Legend and History, p. 40, the author John J. Marshall says: "In the atlas of the escheated counties there are reproduced two maps of a somewhat earlier date (circa 1603-1606) than the 1609 survey maps made for the purpose of the Ulster Plantation. No. 1 is a 'Generalle Description of Ulster', and No. 2 is a 'Map of the Southern Part of Ulster'. This last map extends north to the middle of Tyrone and on that side shows the shore of Lough Neagh, a short distance beyond the mouth of the Ballinderry River. Although quite incorrect when compared with a modern map, nevertheless its lack of accuracy does not prevent it from being extremely interesting, exhibiting as it does a picture of the principality of Kinel Owen at a time when the Celtic dominance was drawing to a close." On this map, used in the text for comparison with the later large-scale map of 1610, is marked "Monterivlin, O'Duelin's land." (O'Duelin represents an alternate spelling and pronunciation of the surname which is discussed in Appendix V.)

On the west Munterevlin was bounded by Ballyhagan, i.e. O'Hagan's land, whose headquarters at Tullaghoge were less than four miles to the north and west of what is now Stewartstown, where the seat of O'Devlin was probably located in the clan days. To the northwest of Munterevlin were the O'Corrs, in the parish of Lissan, which lay partly in Londonderry, where their headquarters were, and partly in Tyrone. On a map of Ireland in the clan days, prepared by Dr. E. MacLysaght, Chief Genealogical Officer, and on exhibit in the Heraldic Museum, Dublin Castle, while the O'Devlins appear on the land west of Lough Neagh and south of the Ballinderry, as in the map of 1610, the land immediately north of them across the river is void of names. For reasons given in the text it seems probable that this area was also a part of

Munterevlin. According to the MacLysaght map, directly to the north of Lough Neagh, partly in Londonderry and partly in Antrim, were the O'Mulhollans, and to the northwest, north of the O'Corrs, the O'Kellys. The latter were perhaps of the same stock as the chiefs of this name located by Owen Connellan (in his notes to The Annals of the Four Masters, p. 59) in the barony of Dungannon. They were apparently of Clan Owen lineage and unrelated to the great sept of Roscommon, the O'Kellys of Hy Many.

Turning to the south, the main headquarters of the Tyrone O'Neills were at Dungannon, some half dozen miles southwest of O'Devlin's seat. Directly south, the greater part of the parish of Clonoe also seems to have been O'Neill territory. At least Thomas Mathews (in The O'Neills of Ulster, Vol. III, p. 344) refers to Phelim O'Neill of Claughrie, known by the nickname "of the wars", who took an active part in the uprising of 1641, and states that the district of Claughrie or Clanaghrie included the parish of Clonoe, apparently with the exception of two townlands in the O'Devlin property of Revelin Outra. (See Appendix VI.) Across Lough Neagh, on its eastern shore, was also O'Neill country belonging to the Clandeboy branch of the ruling sept.

The above appear to have been the immediate neighbors of the O'Devlins, so far as can be judged by data now available. Beyond the O'Hagans, to the southwest were the O'Donnellys at Ballydonnelly, now Castlecaulfield and to the southwest also the O'Mellons at Donaghmore, both within easy riding distance of Munterevlin. In peaceful times we can imagine that all these kindred septs of the Clan Owen were accustomed to a mutual exchange of hospitality at the banquets that were so much enjoyed by the Irish in the clan days.

30) In An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster, p. 546, the Rev. George Hill says of Andrew Stewart: "This was the fourth Lord Ochiltree, whose grandfather, called the 'Good Lord', was a zealous promoter of religious zeal, and whose Aunt Margaret married John Knox of Reformation celebrity. . . This undertaker of lands in Ulster became embarrassed and was obliged to sell his barony of Ochiltree, with extensive possessions in Galloway." Andrew Stewart was, therefore, strictly speaking no longer entitled to be known as Lord Ochiltree when he acquired Munterevlin. Shortly afterwards, however, he was in 1619 created Baron Castle Stuart by James I, and in 1800 his descendants were granted the earldom of Castle Stewart. (Burke's Peerage.)

The Hon. and Rev. Andrew Godfrey Stuart wrote an account of the family of Castlestewart (see bibliography for title). There is in this book only one casual reference to an O'Devlin (p.246). In a letter dated 1668, the Bishop of Kilmore intercedes with Captain Robert Stuart (the name was first spelled Stewart and afterwards Stuart), at that time the manager of his family's estate, in behalf of the bearer, Owen M. O'Devlin, who had been indicted for murder. The bishop seems to have been doubtful of his guilt, and evidently thought well of his general character. This sole allusion to a descendant of the sept which had for so many centuries owned the Stuart property in Tyrone, shows how inconsiderable a position the O'Devlins must have occupied in their former territory under the new regime.

Apparently at one time it was intended to assign Munterevlin to another undertaker than Andrew Stewart, judging by a passage in The

Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, for 1606, p. 364, where in a letter from Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy, marked "Instructions for the Treasurer", he says: "He would Sir Toby Caulfield undertake Clancan, and Sir Francis Roe, Munterdevlin, with such other lands adjoining to their forts as is convenient for them." The reference to forts indicates the frontier conditions under which the settlers lived on the confiscated lands.

The grant eventually made to Sir Francis Roe is given on p. 316 of the Rev. George Hill's An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster. His wife, or more probably widow, Dame Margerie Roe in 1615 purchased the leasehold in the barony of Dungannon that had in 1611 been assigned to Brian O'Develin, the last Chief of Munterevlin. "Dame" was a title employed by the wives of knights in the seventeenth century, instead of "lady", which is usual at the present day.

31) Rev. George Hill, An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster, p. 546.

32) Dr. Séamus Ó Ceallaigh says: "Note that Faigh is probably the original name of the townland in which is located the modern Stewartstown, where Andrew Stewart built his castle. Stewartstown was probably the original site of administration for the territory, with a chief's house ready to hand for the new planter to set up his residence."

Mr. Terence Rafferty says: "Tyrone Irish speakers call Stewartstown An Chraobh (approximate pronunciation 'In Crew'). An Chraobh might mean 'the mansion', but the name of course antedates the Plantation of Ulster, as the word at that time was obsolete in this meaning."

A map appears in Elizabethan England, by G. B. O'Connor, with the title "Copy of a map of Ireland made by John Norden between 1609 and 1611. Preserved in State Paper Office, London. "On this map "Munterevelin" is located somewhere between Tullaghoge and Dungannon, to the west of Stewartstown. This map may be the result of ignorance as to the real location of the O'Devlins' land, but it is possible that Norden placed Munterevelin so much farther to the south and west than it appears on other maps because he knew that the fortified residence of The O'Devlin was at what later became Stewartstown, and wished to emphasize the sept's possessions in that particular portion of their territory. If such was the cartographer's purpose he overshot his mark and located Munterevelin beyond its actual boundaries.

33) P. W. Joyce, A Smaller Social History of Ancient Ireland, pp. 504, 505.

34) R. A. S. Macalister, The Archaeology of Ireland, p. 197; and P. W. Joyce, A Short History of Gaelic Ireland, pp. 108, 109. For Irish food and woodcut of Irish feast see Edward M. Hinton, Ireland through Tudor Eyes, pp. 4 and 76.

In Constantia Maxwell, Irish History from Contemporary Sources, p. 62, are two descriptions of Irish houses as observed by travelers during the first half of the seventeenth century. It should be considered that it is not stated as to what part of the country the following descriptions apply, and in any case they relate to conditions as they were after a long period of disastrous wars and confiscations, during which the standard of living must have been drastically lowered in that unhappy island. Ancient Irish jewelry and household utensils on exhibition in the National Museum indicate a much more luxurious way of life in earlier times.

"The baser cottages are built of underwood called wattle, and covered some with thatch and some with green sedge; of a round form and without chimneys and to my imagination resemble so many hives of bees around a country farm." As to the better sort of houses in which such of the Irish chiefs lived as had survived the era of confiscations, it is said: "The castles or houses of the nobility consist of four walls extremely high, thatched with straw; but to tell the truth they are nothing but square towers without windows, or at least having such small apertures as to give no more light than there is in a prison. They have little furniture, and cover their rooms with rushes, of which they make their beds in summer and of straw in winter. They put the rushes a foot deep on their floors, and on their windows, and many of them ornament the ceiling with branches." It is obvious that the above description applies rather to the forts in which conditions in Ireland had forced the upper classes to seek refuge, than to the mansions characteristic of better days.

35) In a review of the first edition of this book that appeared in The Mid-Ulster Mail, Sept. 3, 1938, Mr. H. L. Glasgow gave the list of townlands that were included in the modern electoral division at the time of the passage of the Poor Law Act of 1838. It is this list which appears in Appendix VI for purposes of comparison with the townlands in Revelin Yetra and Revelin Outra, as given by Dr. Séumas Ó Ceallaigh.

Mr. Glasgow says that the electoral division of Munterevlin has been recently divided into two parts, only one of which retains the old designation, the other having been given a new name. In a letter dated July 22, 1940 he says: "This division was in the year 1923 when there was a redistribution, but it does not affect your work because what was done was to divide the original Division, as fixed in 1838, into two parts, one retaining the name Munterevlin, and the other being named Mullinahoe, which is the name of one of the townlands, and also of the Catholic church and school. . . both Mullinahoe and Munterevlin being overwhelmingly Catholic and Nationalist (90 to 95 per cent)."

Mullanahoe and Mullinahoe are alternate spellings. When the electoral division of Munterevlin is referred to in this book it is always the one that was established in 1838, and not the new division of the same name.

36) Muintir or Muintir as a designation was confined to septs, and almost always to those that used the prefix O' in their surnames. Clann, besides being used for larger genealogical divisions, such as the Clan Owen, was also used for septs, but almost exclusively for those whose surnames were prefixed by Mac. Apparently there was some subtle distinction between these two methods of indicating descent which, while lost to us, caused the Irish to make this distinction.

In commenting on this note Mr. Terence Rafferty says: "I wonder if this is too sweeping. Muintir or Muintir was originally used of a religious community, and derives from monasterium."

The use of 'Clann' for 'Mac' septs is explained by the fact that 'mac' means 'son' and 'clann' 'children', whereas 'O' meant 'grandson' or 'descendant' and so could not be covered by 'clann'."

37) Eoin MacNeill, Phases of Irish History, p. 353.

38) Dr. Arthur J. Devlin has sent the author a copy of the following Fiant of Queen Elizabeth's reign (No. 6713-5476) "Pardon to Brian O Deublinge, of Mountrie Deublinge, Chief of his name, Rowrie and Teige

O Deublinge, Brian Modderie O Deublinge, Shane O Deublinge. Edm oge O Deublinge, Terrelagh gromy O Deublinge. Ferdoragh O Deublinge, Shane enase O Deublinge, Rowrie O Deublinge M'Neyle, Teige boye O Deublinge, Cahall oge O Quygine, Donnell oge O Quygine, Collowe M'Quyggine, Cahall oge O Quygine, Donogh oge O Quygine, Terrelagh M'Quyggine, Rowrie carragh M'Quyggine, Arthur M'Quyggine, Rowrie M'Quyggine, Shane reogh M'Quyggine, Gillpatrick boy M'Quyggine, Toole O Deublinge and Morteragh O Deublinge, of same gentlemen.

Gillpatrick O Deublinge, Gillpatrick O Keregane, Cuye O Ulnanye, Mortagh Carragh O Mulnanye, Gilliduffe O Deublinge, Hugh gromy O Deublinge, Edm O Deublinge, Rowrie O Brenan, Owny O Brenan, Gillpatrick modderie O Brenan, Gromyne O Deublinge, Phelemy oge O Lagane, Neile boye M'Quygine, Edm Owre M'Quygine, Donaltagh O Deublinge, Owyn O Quygine, Patr. M'Lerenan, Hugh O Dallie, Felimye boye O Deublinge, Fellymy M'Canna, Gillpatrick oge M'Hugh, Neyle O Mulnanye, and Carmock O Corr, of same yeomen.

Manus M'Cawell of Clonoe, vicar, Owyn, Collowe, Neile, Rorie, Phelemy, Owyn and Terrelagh M'Cawell of same yeomen, Donogh roe O Conan, of Mountjoye, carpenter, Donall O Conan, Teige M'Gillephoile, Melaughlin O Donell, Rowrie O Corre, Art M'Inchelly, and Gillpatrick bane O Quyne, of same yeomen.

Gillpatrick O Deublinge, of Ardboe, vicar, Terelagh and Art O Deublinge, Mortagh, Donogh, Knochor, Owyn and Tho. O Cananan, Shane and Donagh M'Itanayne, of Mountjoye, in the country or county of Tyrone in the province of Ulster. Submission in Co. Tyrone and other provisions as in 6565."

(For the form of O Deublinge see note 42 to Appendix V. For forms of Maguiggan (O Quygine, M'Quyggine, etc.) see note 42 to this chapter.)

The following is the text of the pardon, dated 1601, Fiant Eliz. (6565-5197): "Provided that they shall personally appear and submit themselves before the Queen's commissioners or keepers of the peace in the several counties in which they live at the next, or second sessions after the date of the pardon; and shall be sufficiently bound, with convenient sureties, to keep the peace and answer in all sessions in the several counties when called to satisfy the demands of all the queen's subjects according to justice. Provided also that this pardon shall not extend to any murder committed by any of these persons before their entry into rebellion; nor to any intrusion on possessions of the crown; nor to remit or release any debt, account or file of alienation, due to the crown. Those engaged in the redemption of the Earl of Ormond from captivity among the rebels, excepted from proviso requiring security. The pardon recommended by the Earl of Ormond. 6 Aug. xliii (Cal. P.R. 591)."

39) "Each chief of whatever grade, kept a household after the manner of a king, but on a smaller scale; with the several offices in charge of the members of certain families." P. W. Joyce, A Smaller Social History of Ancient Ireland, p. 30.

Mr. James E. McGuire says: "Father Woulfe mentions three different families as followers of the O'Learys, a family whose status and relationship to O'Driscoll, the head of the clan, was approximately the same as that of the O'Devlins to O'Neill."

40) Eoin MacNeill, Celtic Ireland, p. 109.

41) Edmund Curtis, A History of Mediaeval Ireland (1st edition), p. 424; Eoin MacNeill, Celtic Ireland, p. 154.

42) For forms of this name now anglicized as Maguiggan, McGuigan, etc., see note 38 to this chapter. O Quyngine, O Quayggine and M'Quayggine represent the same surname. Mr. Terence Rafferty says: "In the spoken language the 'M' of 'Mac' is often dropped and the hearers thought that what they heard was an 'O' form. If it were, there would be no 'Q', which is simply the 'c' of 'Mac'." For further information about this family see Rev. Patrick Woulfe, Irish Names and Surnames, p.382; and John O'Donovan, Ordnance Survey Letters from Co. Londonderry.

Speaking of O'Donovan's reference to the meaning of Maguiggan, Mr. Terence Rafferty says: "It has occurred to me that O'Donovan derives Maguiggan from gogán, an addled egg, but this derivation seems most improbable. O'Donovan showed at times an impish humour.

There are Kiggins in Co. Leitrim, but they tend to spell the name nowadays Keegan. They would also appear to be Mac Uiging (son of the Viking.)"

43) From Ulster, edited by George Fletcher.

44) Giraldus Cambrensis, Topography of Ireland.

45) Black's Guide to Ireland, p. 298.

46) The author is principally indebted to his correspondents for information about the Devlin country, but in addition to the books quoted in the text the following have supplied some data: J. B. Doyle, The Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Ireland; S. Lewis, A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland; Nicholas Carlisle, A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland; Murray's Handbook of Ireland; and Kelly's Ireland Directory. The supposed curative qualities of Lough Neagh water on Midsummer Eve are referred to in M. Lenox-Conyngham, An Old Ulster House; and in John J. Marshall, Lough Neagh in Legend and History.

47) A. S. Green, A History of the Irish State to 1014, p. 161. The Senchus Mór (in The Ancient Laws of Ireland) gives a detailed account of brehons and the Brehon Law. For genealogy of the O'Hagans from Niall of the Nine Hostages to their eponymous ancestor see an Ordnance Survey Letter of John O'Donovan from Moville in Londonderry, dated July 27, 1834.

The following were some of the other chief Brehon families in Ireland: The Mac Egans, hereditary Brehons in Connaught, Leinster and Ormond; the O'Dorans, Brehons to the Mac Murroghs, Kings of Leinster; the Mac Clancys, of Clare, Brehons to the O'Briens, Kings of Thomond and to the Fitzgeralds, Earls of Desmond; the O'Breslins, Brehons to the O'Donnells, Princes of Tyrconnell, and to the Maguires of Fermanagh. John O'Hart, Irish Pedigrees, Vol. II, p. 605.

48) The Annals of the Four Masters.

49) Edmund Curtis, A History of Mediaeval Ireland (1st edition) p.182.

50) "Namely fostered by O'Develin (Ó Doibhilén) whose district lay west of Lough Neagh." Note by B. MacCarthy to The Annals of Ulster, Vol. II, p. 582. (MacCarthy uses the three syllable form of the anglicized name that was prevalent in the seventeenth century.) Also see Edmund Hogan, Onomasticon Goedelicum, p. 348. In his edition of The Annals of the Four Masters, John O'Donovan anglicized Doibhlénach as "Devlinian" instead of as "Devlinite".

For instances of such cognomens assumed as the result of fosterage

among the O'Devlins, O'Looneys, O'Donnellys, O'Cahans, etc., see John O'Donovan's notes to The Topographical Poem of John O'Dugan, etc., p.18.

51) P. W. Joyce, A Short History of Gaelic Ireland, p. 87. For instances of fosterage among the Irish gods see S. H. O'Grady, Silva Gadelica, and James Stephens, In The Land of Youth. An example of fosterage among the MacCarthys occurs as late as 1749. See "Banshee of the MacCarthys" by T. Crofton Croker, in Irish Fairy and Folk Tales, edited by W. B. Yeats, p. 125. Writing in January, 1951, Mr. Terence Rafferty says: "Fosterage still persists here in rural areas, but the term is no longer used."

52) For princes of the Maguire dynasty see notes of B. MacCarthy to The Annals of Ulster, under MacUidhir.

53) John O'Hart, Irish Pedigrees, Vol. I, p. 818.

See P. W. Joyce, A Smaller Social History of Ancient Ireland for a discussion of hereditary physicians. According to Joyce the O'Callanans were hereditary physicians to the Mac Carthys of Desmond; the O'Cassidy's to the Maguires of Fermangh; the O'Lees to the O'Flahertys of Connaught; the O'Hickeys to the O'Briens of Thomond, and also to the O'Kennedys of Ormond, and to the Mac Namaras of Clare. The O'Shiels were hereditary physicians to the Mac Mahons of Oriel, and to the Mac Coghlan's of Delvin. So highly was the medical profession regarded in Ireland during the clan days that five hundred acres of land was said to be a common allowance for the hereditary physician of a king or important chief, and various perquisites in addition.

54) Notes of B. MacCarthy to The Annals of Ulster, Vol. IV, p. viii.

The florid style of these panegyrics is amusing. In The Annals of Ulster for the year 1430 appears the following tribute on the death of a Maguire king. The annalist refers to him as "the best man of hospitality and prowess of the West of Europe and a man that frequently set up oratories and churches and monasteries and holy crosses and images of Mary, and established peace among clergy and laity and defended his territory against its neighbors - he died after victory of penance and unction."

55) Perhaps there were two other examples of fosterage by the O'Neills among the O'Devlins, since Thomas Mathews, in The O'Neills of Ulster, says that Felim Caech (Blind-eye) was also fostered by the O'Devlins. There is the possibility, however, that Matthews has confused Felim Caech, son of Conn the "Halt", first Earl of Tyrone, with his cousin Felim, the nephew of Conn, who as we have seen was known as the "Devlinite". As yet no other authority has been found for the statement that Felim Caech was an O'Devlin fosterling.

Two references are made to Felim Caech in The Annals of Ulster. In 1538 he was placed in command of a castle captured from the Maguires by his father. In the following year he was attacked at night by MacDonnell, the Gallowglass, and some of Felim's soldiers were killed. O'Neill mustered his host and marched into Armagh to avenge this attack, but MacDonnell came out to meet O'Neill and peace was established between them.

56) The Sligo Champion, Sept. 29, 1945.

57) Of Muirchertach Doibhlénach, Professor James Hogan says (in The Irish Law of Kingship with Special Reference to Ailech and Cenel Eoghain, p. 52): "Surnamed Doibhlénach from having been fostered by the Muintir-Doibhilen - the O'Devlins, west of Lough Neagh." For extent

of Clondeboy territory see Edmund Curtis, A History of Mediaeval Ireland, 2nd edition, p. 221.

See Burke's Peerage, under Baron O'Neill, and Marquis de Ruvigny, The Titled Nobility of Europe, under the Count of Tyrone. In The O'Neills of Ulster, Vol. III, p. 324, Thomas Matthews says: "Murkertac, son of Brian Ballagh, Prince of Clannaboy, surnamed Devlinagh (Doibhlénach). He was doubtless fostered by O'Devlin of Muntir Devlin like Conn Baccagh's son, Felim Caech, also known as Felim Devlinagh."

58) John O'Donovan, Ordnance Survey Letters, County of Londonderry, p. 125 et seq. For this item, as for a mass of other material not separately acknowledged, the author is indebted to the kindness of Mr. James E. McGuire.

59) O'Cahan is also anglicized as O'Kane, O'Cathain, etc. For contingent of O'Cahans with O'Neill's forces see the Rev. C. P. Meehan, The Fate and Fortunes of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, p. 18. For O'Cahans at the Battle of Downpatrick see Edmund Curtis, A History of Mediaeval Ireland, 2nd edition, p. 145.

60) O'Donovan gives the correct modern spelling, i.e. Muntereulin, in another letter previously quoted.

61) O'Donovan omits the O' in the surname, which had already been discarded at the time when he wrote this letter. In the clan days, of which he is speaking, the surname would, of course, have been O'Devlin.

62) Ua Dobhilen is the Irish form of the name in this passage, Ua being the equivalent of Ó.

63) The Rev. John Ryan, Ireland from the Earliest Times to A.D. 800, p. 158.

64) A. S. Green, A History of the Irish State to 1014, p. 204. For detailed account of the rights and duties of an aire túise see Eugene O'Curry, The Ancient Laws of Ireland, Vol. II, pp. 325-327.

65) There were three types of chiefs at the time of the Confiscations. The first would be represented by O'Neill and O'Donnell, in their respective territories. Under O'Neill, but occupying a semi-autonomous position, were the uriaghts, such as O'Cahan and MacDonnell. Gerard A. Hayes-McCoy says (in Scots Mercenary Forces in Ireland, p. 47): "The third type of chieftain was the ruler of a tuath within a 'country'. Of this class were O'Hagan, of Tullaghoge, O Doimleain [O'Devlin], the Donnelaughes [O'Donnellys] and others whom we find in Tyrone and immediately under O'Neill, yet distinct from the oirrioghta." (For this Irish form of O'Devlin see explanation given in note 1 to Appendix V.)

66) John O'Donovan's notes to The Topographical Poem of John O'Dugan, etc., p. 16.

67) Eoin MacNeill, Celtic Ireland, Chapter VIII; and Phases of Irish History, p. 352.

68) Sir Bernard Burke, Reminiscences Ancestral and Anecdotal, p. 279.

69) According to The County Families of the United Kingdom, the title of The O'Mahony was also reassumed by "deed poll" in 1912.

70) After an investigation of three years, the Genealogical Office, Dublin Castle, has authorized the following purely courtesy titles, by seniority:

The MacDermott, Prince of Coolavin, to Charles Edward MacDermott, D. L., Coolavin, Co. Sligo.

The MacGillicuddy of the Reeks, to Lt. Col. Ross Kinloch MacGillicuddy, D.S.O., The Reeks, Beaufort, Co. Kerry.

The O'Callaghan, to Don Juan O'Callaghan, Madrid.

The O'Conor Don, to the Rev. Charles Denis O'Conor, S.J., M.A., H.D.E., Rathfarnham Castle, Dublin.

The O'Donoghue of the Glens, to Geoffrey O'Donoghue, The Crossways, Ballymoney, Gorey, Co. Wexford.

The O'Donovan, to Col. Morgan Winthrop O'Donovan, M.C., Arda, Northam, Bideford, Devon.

The O'Brien, to Sir Donough Edward Oster O'Brien, Bart., 16th Baron of Inchiquin, New Market, Co. Clare.

The O'Morchoe (or The Murchadha) to Major Arthur Thomas MacMorrough Kavanagh, Borris House, Co. Carlow.

The O'Neill, of Clandeboy, to H. E. Dom Hugh O'Neill, of Lisbon, Portugal.

The Fox (O Sionnaigh), to Capt. Niall Arthur Hubert Fox.

The O'Toole, to Charles Joseph Antoine Thomy O'Toole, Comte O'Toole, 10 Ave de Champs Elysees, Paris.

The O'Grady of Kilballyowen, to Major Gerald Vigors de Courcey O'Grady, R.A., Junior United Service Club, London.

The O'Kelly, to Walter Joseph O'Kelly, Count of the Holy Roman Empire, Grey Gates, Mount Merrion, Dublin.

The O'Donnell of Tyrconnell, to John O'Donnell, 37, Seapoint Avenue, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.

From The Irish Independent, Dublin, Dec. 23, 1944; and The Sligo Champion, Sept. 29, 1945.

71) In his notes to The Topographical Poem of John O'Dugan, etc., John O'Donovan says that in 1861 there were also claimants to the headship of the O'Flahertys, O'Rorkes, O'Dowdas, MacCarthys and O'Driscolls.

In The Irish Book (1936), R. M. Douglas gives, in addition to those in the text, the following titles apparently assumed in recent years - The O'Gorman-Mahon; and The O'Rourke, Prince of Breifney.

72) In The Titled Nobility of Europe, the Marquis de Ruvigny says that when the title Earl of Tyrone was attained in 1614, after the Flight of the Earls, it was nevertheless assumed in succession by Henry, son of the outlawed earl; later by another son John, Conde de Tyrone, a Major General in the Spanish army, and on his death by Shane, fourth son of Hugh O'Neill. James, styled eighth earl, a grandson of Shane, left Ireland with James II and later settled at Basse Pointe in the island of Martinique, French West Indies. There the title was continued in the male line until the death without male issue of the fourteenth earl or count. The daughters of the latter by "un pacte de famille intervenu á Paris le 14 áout, 1901, pour se conformer á une tradition immémoriale," recognized George O'Neill, a peer of Portugal in his own right, as next in line to the title, so that he succeeded as fifteenth Count or Earl of Tyrone.

It is one of the strange ironies of history that a Portuguese noble should be nominated by Frenchwomen, in the presence of a French notary, as the rightful successor of so many Irish kings. This George O'Neill was the descendant of Muirchertach O'Neill, the last elected Prince of Clandeboy, who had been fostered with the O'Devlins and therefore known as the "Devlinite".

After the extinction of a Celtic title there is an example in fairly recent times of a new chief's election by the members of his clan. It is

The first of these is the fact that the
 second of these is the fact that the
 third of these is the fact that the
 fourth of these is the fact that the
 fifth of these is the fact that the
 sixth of these is the fact that the
 seventh of these is the fact that the
 eighth of these is the fact that the
 ninth of these is the fact that the
 tenth of these is the fact that the
 eleventh of these is the fact that the
 twelfth of these is the fact that the
 thirteenth of these is the fact that the
 fourteenth of these is the fact that the
 fifteenth of these is the fact that the
 sixteenth of these is the fact that the
 seventeenth of these is the fact that the
 eighteenth of these is the fact that the
 nineteenth of these is the fact that the
 twentieth of these is the fact that the
 twenty-first of these is the fact that the
 twenty-second of these is the fact that the
 twenty-third of these is the fact that the
 twenty-fourth of these is the fact that the
 twenty-fifth of these is the fact that the
 twenty-sixth of these is the fact that the
 twenty-seventh of these is the fact that the
 twenty-eighth of these is the fact that the
 twenty-ninth of these is the fact that the
 thirtieth of these is the fact that the
 thirty-first of these is the fact that the
 thirty-second of these is the fact that the
 thirty-third of these is the fact that the
 thirty-fourth of these is the fact that the
 thirty-fifth of these is the fact that the
 thirty-sixth of these is the fact that the
 thirty-seventh of these is the fact that the
 thirty-eighth of these is the fact that the
 thirty-ninth of these is the fact that the
 fortieth of these is the fact that the
 forty-first of these is the fact that the
 forty-second of these is the fact that the
 forty-third of these is the fact that the
 forty-fourth of these is the fact that the
 forty-fifth of these is the fact that the
 forty-sixth of these is the fact that the
 forty-seventh of these is the fact that the
 forty-eighth of these is the fact that the
 forty-ninth of these is the fact that the
 fiftieth of these is the fact that the
 fifty-first of these is the fact that the
 fifty-second of these is the fact that the
 fifty-third of these is the fact that the
 fifty-fourth of these is the fact that the
 fifty-fifth of these is the fact that the
 fifty-sixth of these is the fact that the
 fifty-seventh of these is the fact that the
 fifty-eighth of these is the fact that the
 fifty-ninth of these is the fact that the
 sixtieth of these is the fact that the
 sixty-first of these is the fact that the
 sixty-second of these is the fact that the
 sixty-third of these is the fact that the
 sixty-fourth of these is the fact that the
 sixty-fifth of these is the fact that the
 sixty-sixth of these is the fact that the
 sixty-seventh of these is the fact that the
 sixty-eighth of these is the fact that the
 sixty-ninth of these is the fact that the
 seventieth of these is the fact that the
 seventy-first of these is the fact that the
 seventy-second of these is the fact that the
 seventy-third of these is the fact that the
 seventy-fourth of these is the fact that the
 seventy-fifth of these is the fact that the
 seventy-sixth of these is the fact that the
 seventy-seventh of these is the fact that the
 seventy-eighth of these is the fact that the
 seventy-ninth of these is the fact that the
 eightieth of these is the fact that the
 eighty-first of these is the fact that the
 eighty-second of these is the fact that the
 eighty-third of these is the fact that the
 eighty-fourth of these is the fact that the
 eighty-fifth of these is the fact that the
 eighty-sixth of these is the fact that the
 eighty-seventh of these is the fact that the
 eighty-eighth of these is the fact that the
 eighty-ninth of these is the fact that the
 ninetieth of these is the fact that the
 ninety-first of these is the fact that the
 ninety-second of these is the fact that the
 ninety-third of these is the fact that the
 ninety-fourth of these is the fact that the
 ninety-fifth of these is the fact that the
 ninety-sixth of these is the fact that the
 ninety-seventh of these is the fact that the
 ninety-eighth of these is the fact that the
 ninety-ninth of these is the fact that the
 hundredth of these is the fact that the

said in Burke's Peerage that after the ban on the use of the Scottish surname MacGregor had been lifted, the ancestor of the present chief, in the eighteenth century, applied to members of his clan for a confirmation of his rights to the chieftainship. But the claims of the Portuguese O'Neills to the title Earl of Tyrone seem to be decidedly nebulous, in any case, since they belong to that collateral branch of the family that settled in Antrim during the fourteenth century and not to the main line in Tyrone.

There was another claimant to the headship of the Tyrone O'Neills in the last century. In his Irish Pedigrees, Vol. I, pp. 728, 729, John O'Hart gives an account of a picturesque ceremony in which an O'Neill, who at that time was a schoolmaster, but who claimed a direct descent in the senior line from the former Kings of Ailech, was proclaimed O'Neill by some of his adherents. O'Hart says: "On May Eve, 1862, in the ruined fort of Ailech, the white wand was put in his hand and the old pagan ceremonies performed as they were some hundreds of years before when the chieftains elected O'Neill." This Richard O'Neill, who figured in the ceremony of May Eve, 1862, was the great-grandson of another Richard O'Neill who was made O'Neill on May Eve, 1766, and "was inaugurated in the old Rath of Tullaghoge, west of Lough Neagh, in Tyrone, by The O'Hagan, who was then reduced to indigence." Art O'Neill, grandfather of The O'Neill of 1766, was made O'Neill at Ailech on May Eve of 1709. It will be noticed that on two of these occasions Ailech was used for the inauguration ceremonies, that Clan Owen capital which had been destroyed by a Munster king in the twelfth century and whose site was later lost to the Clan Conall, rather than Tullaghoge, the seat of O'Hagan, where the ceremony was regularly performed from the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries.

73) The Dukes of Tetuan, in Spain, bear the surname of O'Donnell, which they have given to a street in Madrid. Leopoldo O'Donnell, first Duke of Tetuan, is buried in the church of Santa Barbara in that city, with the O'Donnell coat of arms carved on his tomb. (Marcel Monmarché, Espagne, p. 316). Another branch of the O'Donnells in Spain is represented by the Marquis of Altamira. The Counts O'Donnell in Austria are also offshoots of the Clan Conall. (Marquis de Ruvigny, The Titled Nobility of Europe.)

74) The Annals of the Four Masters, for the year 1539, say of Cormac Maguire's assassination: "The son of Maguire, i.e. Cormac, the son of Cuchonacht, son of Cuchonacht, son of Brian, son of Philip, tanist [their apparent] of Fermanagh, a worthy man, distinguished for his nobleness and hospitality, was treacherously slain by the people of his own brethren, and even in their presence."

For reputation of Maguires as "the worst swordsmen in the North", and their custom of hiring mercenary troops in neighboring territory see Gerard A. Hayes-McCoy, Scots Mercenary Forces in Ireland, pp. 55 and 188. There is no doubt that the Maguires hired mercenary forces, as did most of their neighbors also, although perhaps not to the same extent, but their poor reputation as swordsmen may or may not have been justified by the facts. The Ode to Maguire is included in 1000 Years of Irish Poetry, p. 160, edited by Kathleen Hoagland.

In his index to The Annals of Ulster (Vol. IV, p. 277) B. MacCarthy states that the People of Devlin who took part in the assassination of Cormac Maguire were members of the Tyrone sept. It is, however,

possible, if not probable, that the People of Devlin referred to in this passage were actually members of the Sligo sept dealt with in Appendix II of this book.

Such an ascription, however, would entail many unsupported assumptions. It would require an explanation as to how and where they preserved their identity as a sept since the last recorded reference to them in 1372, in O'Dugan's Topographical Poem. We know that some time after that date their territory in Sligo was occupied by the Mac-Donoughs. If the Sligo O'Devlins were not extinct at that time, we would have to assume that they eventually reached Fermanagh from southern Sligo by way of the modern counties of Roscommon, Leitrim and Cavan. No records, however, of such a migration, nor of their presence in those counties, appear in any of the annals, nor in that vast compendium of information about the Irish septs, the Onomasticon Goedelicum of Edmund Hogan. There seems to be little doubt that Mac Carthy was correct in stating that the People of Devlin mentioned in this passage belonged to the Tyrone sept.

75) The following is the passage from The Annals of Ulster, for the year 1540: "Philip, i.e. [Maguire] junior, son of Philip, son of Brian; and the son of Niall O Domnaill [O'Donnell] the Rough, went on a raid into Muintir-Peodachain and Domnall Ua Doibhilen [O'Devlin] junior and the sons of Cormac Almunain were hung by them, and good noble persons, namely Toirdelbach, son of Thomas MagSamradhain [MacGovern] the Bald and Fer-dorcha, son of Aodh, son of the same Thomas, were slain by them."

Muintir-Peodachain was a territory in Clanawley barony, Co. Fermanagh. According to John O'Hart, Irish Pedigrees, Vol. I, p. 818, it has been anglicized as Pettigo. The location and descent of the Mac-Governns are given by John O'Donovan in an Ordnance Survey Letter, dated May 19, 1836.

76) Quoted in A. S. Green, The Making of Ireland and Its Undoing, p. 76. The entire poem, of which this is an abridgement, is given in Constantia Maxwell, Irish History from Contemporary Sources, p. 335.

77) P. W. Joyce, A Smaller History of Ancient Ireland, p. 30.

78) John O'Hart, Irish Pedigrees, Vol. I, p. 728.

79) John O'Donovan, in his notes to The Genealogies, Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach.

In Lough Neagh in Legend and History, p. 48, John J. Marshall says that a small fragment of O'Neill's inauguration chair is still preserved in the church of Desertcreat, near Tullaghoge. For bell of St. Patrick see note 102 to Chapter II.

80) Rev. C. P. Meehan, The Fate and Fortunes of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, p. 283.

81) Burke's Peerage (1911) under Baron O'Hagan; and John J. Marshall, Lough Neagh in Legend and History, pp. 43 and 48.

82) According to Arthur Ua Clerigh, The History of Ireland to the Coming of Henry II, p. 253; The Annals of Ulster, 912; and Martin Haverty, The History of Ireland, Maolmare or Mary, daughter of Kenneth MacAlpin, was the wife of Aedh Finnliath (Fair-gray), High-king of Ireland (died 879) and consequently the grandmother of Eochaidh of Drumleene, ancestor of the O'Devlins and the O'Donnellys.

83) P. W. Joyce, A Short History of Gaelic Ireland, p. 63; and A. S. Green, The Making of Ireland and Its Undoing, p. 109; Owen Connellan's notes to The Annals of the Four Masters, p. 263.

84) Thomas Mathews, The O'Neills of Ulster, Vol. II, p. 103, and Vol. III, p. 17. (According to Matthews the O'Mellons and the O'Quinns were both Hereditary Physicians, but he does not give his authority for this statement.) For O'Neill's inauguration see John J. Marshall, Lough Neagh in Legend and History, pp. 43 and 48.

85) Roderick O'Flaherty, A Chorographical Description of West or H-lar Connaught, pp. 367-372. The ruler referred to was Flaherty O'Flaherty, Lord of Sil Murray and Iar-Connaught, who was killed in 1098. For particulars as to fines inflicted see The Hon. Emily Lawless, Ireland, p. 26; and The Ancient Laws of Ireland (edited by E. O'Curry), Vol. III, pp. 297, 433; and Vol. IV, p. 163.

We do not have sufficient information about the inauguration of sub-chiefs like The O'Devlin to give an account of the ceremony, which was probably much less elaborate than the one described in the text for O'Neill. According to Mr. James E. McGuire there are in neighboring Fermanagh several instances of subsidiary chiefs being inaugurated directly by Maguire. The O'Devlin may have been "made" by O'Neill himself, and with little ceremony.

86) In Irish Ó Dobhailen.

87) P. W. Joyce, A Short History of Gaelic Ireland, p. 400.

88) Rev. George Hill, An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster, p. 161; and Sean O'Faolain, The Great O'Neill, p. 48. In Lough Neagh in Legend and History, p. 47, John J. Marshall speaks of the favoritism displayed by Hugh O'Neill towards his fosterers, the O'Hagans and the O'Quinns.

89) This tradition in the family of the celebrated Ann Devlin is told by the Rev. Brother Luke Cullen in his manuscript The Life and Sufferings of Ann Devlin.

90) This is the tradition in the family of Dr. Arthur J. Devlin. See Appendix III for further information about the Wicklow Devlins and their origin.

91) See note 38 to Chapter II and note 9 to Chapter III.

92) Notes by Owen Connellan to The Annals of the Four Masters, pp. 709, 714; and Sean O'Faolain, The Great O'Neill, p. 303.

This stronghold of O'Neill apparently lay, at least partly, in the forest of Killetragh, described by the Rev. George Hill, in An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster, p. 166, as the "greatest fastness" of his territory. If, as seems likely, the O'Devlins owned land north of the Ballinderry, a considerable proportion of it was probably in this forest. This wooded area could not, however, have been regarded as of much value in the clan days, except for hunting or as a place of refuge. In the absence of efficient means of transportation, a forest would have been, for the cityless Ulster Irish, of little more than local use as a source of lumber and fuel.

93) Notes by Owen Connellan to The Annals of the Four Masters, pp. 627, 630, 696-700.

94) A. J. C. Hare, Walks in Rome, Vol. II, p. 339.

95) John O'Hart, The Last Princes of Tara.

96) P. W. Joyce, A Smaller Social History of Ancient Ireland, p. 110. What seems to have been the original conception of the banshee's appearance, as a being young, blonde, and beautiful is exemplified in the story How Thomas Connolly Met the Banshee, on p. 116 of Irish Fairy and Folk Tales, edited by W. B. Yeats, but in later times the banshee is sometimes described as old and haggard.

97) In The O'Neills of Ulster, Vol. II, p. 86, Thomas Mathews tells of an O'Neill banshee, whose name was Mauveen, at Shane's Castle in eastern Ulster. This banshee was associated with the Clandeboy branch of the family. Apparently the O'Neills were still supposed to be accompanied by banshees as late as the nineteenth century, according to How Thomas Connolly met the Banshee, by J. Todhunter (in Irish Fairy and Folk Tales, edited by W. B. Yeats). The story relates that: "There was a Mither O'Nales was come on a visit, ye must know, to a place in the neighborhood - one of the ould O'Nales iv the county Tyrone, a rale ould Irish family - an' the banshee was heard keening round the house that same night, be more than one than was in it; an' sure enough, Mither Harry, he was found dead in his bed the next mornin'."

Obviously the O'Neills were entitled to the ministrations of a banshee, if any were available, but the Fitzgeralds, a family of Norman descent, were also supposed to possess family banshees. In Irish Fairy and Folk Tales, pp. 120-121, appears the translation of a poem by the Irish poet Clarence Mangan, being a "Lamentation" for the death of Sir Maurice Fitzgerald, Knight of Kerry, who was killed in Flanders, 1642. The poet speaks of the family banshee bewailing the knight's demise, and yet he adds: "For the high Milesian race alone, ever flows the music of her woe", evidently attempting to ascribe to the Fitzgeralds that lineage which only, in earlier times, was supposed to be accompanied by banshees.

98) John O'Donovan's notes to The Annals of the Four Masters, Vol. VI, p. 1985.

99) This version is quoted in a note to the poems of Thomas Campbell. A slightly different account of this saying appears in Seamas MacManus, The Story of the Irish Race, p. 353. Also see T. B. Macaulay, The History of England, Vol. II, p. 126.

Edmund Curtis says, in A History of Mediaeval Ireland, 2nd edition, p. xix: "Seldom has any native aristocracy been so proud and haughty, conservative and untemperizing, as the Gaelic aristocracy of Ireland and the intelligentsia which supported it. They took unquestioningly and solemnly their imaginative pedigree of three thousand years in this island. . ."

100) John O'Donovan's notes to The Annals of the Four Masters, for the year 1523.

101) John O'Donovan, Ordnance Survey Letters, Londonderry, in a letter from Draperstown Cross, dated Sept. 19, 1834. For music of banshee's cry see Irish Fairy and Folk Tales (edited by W.B. Yeats), p. 346.

In An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster, p. 250, the Rev. George Hill says that the O'Corrs "are settled in great number in the parish of Lissan, beside Slieve Gallion, where it is believed the banshee Aine bewails their approaching dissolution."

In The Memorial Atlas of Ireland, Map 19, the village of Lissan is shown in the county of Londonderry, about six miles northwest of the clan territory of Muntirevlin, but the parish of Lissan extends south of the Ballinderry River into Tyrone, where a portion of the O'Corrs' land is shown on a map in John J. Marshall's Lough Neagh in Legend and History, as adjoining that of the O'Devlins on the northwest.

102) Notes of John O'Donovan to The Topographical Poem of John O'Dugan, etc., p. xix. The O'Mellons were associated as wardens of this relic with the O'Mulhollans (Mulhollands), whose land appears on

E. MacLysaght's map directly north of Lough Neagh, on the borders of Londonderry and Antrim. For further information about this bell see John O'Donovan's notes to The Annals of the Four Masters, under dates 1356 and 1425.

The parish of Donaghmore, where the O'Mellons were seated (Thomas Mathews, The O'Neills of Ulster, Vol. II, p. 66), is to the southeast of the parish of Pomeroy, in which the MacDonnells had the townland mentioned in the text, and both parishes are near Dungannon, to its northwest.

103) Rev. John Ryan, Ireland from A.D. 800 to A.D. 1600, p. 150; also Eoin MacNeill, Phases of Irish History, p. 334.

104) In his notes to The Annals of the Four Masters, Owen Connellan says: "The term caoraighecht was applied to a body who attended the army as predatory troops, and they were called by the English creaghts."

According to John O'Donovan, in his notes to the Journal of Friar O'Mellan, they were shepherds in time of peace, and drove the cattle-prey in time of war.

105) This probably refers to O'Connellan, who, according to Owen Connellan in his notes to The Annals of the Four Masters, p. 50, was chief of Crioich Tullach, a territory represented on the accompanying map by Philip MacDermott as close to, if not in, the Sperrin Mountains, in northern Tyrone. Connellan says that the name has been altered by some to Connolly.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1) Note of Owen Connellan to The Annals of the Four Masters, p. 718.

2) According to the Patent Roll of James I (192, Patent 8), Brian O'Develin was assigned the townlands of Monigar and Knockfada. These appear as Moneygarah and Knockavaddy, respectively, in Griffith's Valuation (1859-1860); the former containing in excess of 166 acres and the latter in excess of 236, making a total of slightly more than 402 acres in the grant. At the time of Griffith's Valuation these townlands, and others, were in the possession of the Misses Bailie, members of a family owning much land in Tyrone. In John O'Hart's Irish Pedigrees, Vol. II, p. 516, appear the names of the new lessees in the Precinct of Dungannon after the establishment of the Ulster Plantation.

3) George Hill, An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster, note 7, p. 125.

In the same book (p. 285), is the following note: "Mountjoy - Although this precinct in Tyrone was named Mountjoy in several of the early plantation papers, to distinguish it from the other division of the great barony of Dungannon, the new name was dropped soon after 1620, and the old one resumed for the whole barony."

4) Wife, or more probably widow of Sir Francis Roe, to whom it had been at first proposed to grant Munterevlin. See note 30 to Chapter II. (Sir Francis Roe was the brother of the diplomatist Sir Thomas Roe, so celebrated for his missions to the Great Mogul in India, and to the court of the Turkish sultan.)

In The Civil Survey of Ireland (1654-1656), Vol. III, p. 264, under the heading of barony of Dungannon, parish of Dissertagh, it is stated: "We find that in Anno 1615, that Dame Margerie Roe did purchase the sd

two towne lands called Munigere and Knockavaddie from Brian O Darlein and from Brian Og O Darlein." "Og" means "junior" and refers to the son of the chief, possibly the same Brian O'Develin who was slain in 1643 while serving as a captain in Sir Phelim O'Neill's army. (See note 33 to this chapter.) In various documents the name of this lessee appears as O'Develin, O'Develyn, O'Deavelin, O'Deublinge, and O'Darlein, illustrating again the extreme variability of the seventeenth century spelling of Milesian names.

5) See Burke's Peerage, under Earls Castle Stewart.

6) The subsequent re-division of Munterevlin in 1923 is not taken into account in these remarks. See note 35 to Chapter II.

7) This information has been kindly furnished by Mr. H. L. Glasgow.

8) In A History of Mediaeval Ireland, (1st edition, p. 19) Edmund Curtis says: "The numbers of the royal clans was never large, even after several centuries from the eponymous ancestor; thus in Elizabeth's reign 'Sir Conor Maguire could make almost of his own surname 120 horse and 600 foot' (Description of Ireland, 1598 ed Hogan), i.e. the Maguires would be about 700 men."

In Phases of Irish History, p. 292, Eoin MacNeill says: "The O'Neills of Ulster were never more than a small fraction of Tyrone or any part of Tyrone. Shane O'Neill, in order to convince certain persons of the futility of trying to poison him, said that if the hundred best men of the name of O'Neill were cut off, there would still be O'Neills to succeed him."

With regard to the O'Devlins a better comparison can be made as to numbers with neighboring septs whose territories were comparable in size with Munterevlin. As previously stated, both the O'Donnellys and the O'Hagans furnished O'Neill with 100 infantry apiece, but with 60 horsemen the O'Donnellys furnished twice the number of cavalry as did the O'Hagans. The O'Quinns are said to have supplied 80 foot and 20 horse. As compared with the Maguire forces, these figures indicate that neither the O'Donnellys, the O'Hagans, nor the O'Quinns numbered more than a few score each in the clan days, and it is probable that a few score would have comprised all those bearing the surname O'Devlin in that time. (Owen Connellan's notes to The Annals of the Four Masters, p. 659.)

For quotation from Sir John Davies see Edward M. Hinton, Ireland through Tudor Eyes, p. 84.

9) Dr. Arthur J. Devlin has sent the author a copy of the "Pardon to Owyn O Hagane, of Tullaghoge, Chief of his name, Gent.", dated 1602 (Eliz. Fiant 6714-5484). Besides the chief, there are twenty-four O'Hagans included in this amnesty and four O'Devlins (i.e. Neile, Brian duffe, Teige and Terelagh O Deublinge, all described as yeomen). Among the followers of O'Hagan included in this pardon appear the same multiplicity of surnames that we find in that of The O'Devlin. (See note 38 to Chapter II). Altogether thirty different names appear in The O'Hagan's pardon.

10) An idea of the riches of Irish poetry may be obtained by reading Dr. Douglas Hyde's A Literary History of Ireland. Modern writers such as James Stephens and William Butler Yeats have interpreted the ancient poetry of Ireland for readers of the present day.

11) Seamas MacManus, The Story of the Irish Race, p. 407; Sir Bernard Burke, Vicissitudes of Families, p. 122 et seq. For condition

of Milesian aristocracy after the Confiscations also see T. B. Macaulay, The History of England, Vol. II, p. 124.

12) In contrast to the wide fluctuations of wealth and power that are observable among Irish families, their funeral customs have often been retained intact for many generations and, if correctly interpreted, may throw light on a family's past even where documentary evidence is lacking.

In Ireland under the Georges, p. 59, Constantia Maxwell gives an account of a funeral in 1729 at which the deceased was taken to the cemetery in a hearse drawn by six horses, and six horses were also attached to Parnell's hearse.

In MacDonough's History of Ballymote, etc., p. 180, it is said that "even up to this time (about 1890) an age-long custom, that of four Scanlons carrying a MacDonough's coffin to the graveside, was still claimed as a prerogative." Mr. Terence Rafferty says that to the present day in Donegal the coffin of the deceased, in some parts, must be borne by four men of his own surname. These would appear to be customs dating from the clan days, and perhaps in those days horses played a conspicuous part in the funerals of "horsemen", such as the O'Devlins were called.

13) The fact that the majority of Devlins are Catholics is so obvious as hardly to need demonstration. In The Calendar of the National University of Ireland, which is predominantly Catholic, there are listed eighteen Devlins among its graduates, including seven in arts, seven in medicine, two in engineering and two in science. On the other hand the Protestant University of Dublin has only three Devlin graduates, all in theology, and one graduate of the name appears in the Calendar of the non-sectarian Queen's University, in Belfast. (These notes were made in 1935.) In Thom's Ireland Directory, 1933, there were two Devlins listed as clergymen of the Protestant Church of Ireland, as compared with five Catholic priests.

W. E. H. Lecky (Rationalism in Europe, Vol. II, p. 15) says that the Irish Catholics "only clung closer to their faith on account of the storms that assailed it. That very acute observer, Arthur Young, declared at the end of the penal laws, that the relative proportion of Catholics to Protestants had not been at all reduced, if anything rather the reverse."

14) His name also appears as Divilin, Divilinn, and Devlin. (See notes to Appendix V for further information about Cornelius Develin.)

Cornelius Develin is referred to in Lough Neagh in Legend and History, by John J. Marshall. Under the date October, 1649, it is said: "A combined loyalist and Irish force came before Antrim and summoned the town to yield to the King. But those within the castle, one of Cromwell's captains with his company and one Lieutenant Devlin with a troop, returned answer that they would not yield the castle; on which the town was assaulted and burnt, and some were commanded to fire at the mount and castle; but to little purpose, where was lost one Captain Maglaghlin, and about twelve men without any hopes of getting either the castle or mount; being a place not fit for a running party to attack." Devlin, in this passage, looks like a modernization of some three-syllable form.

15) The Landowners of Ireland, by U. H. Hussey de Burgh, Land Agent.

16) The cognomens used by the Devlins in Munterevlin at the present day resemble those employed by the ancient Romans. In The History of

the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Vol. IV, p. 491, Edward Gibbon says: "Among the Romans a gens or lineage was united by a common name and domestic rites; the various cognomens or surnames of Scipio or Marcellus distinguished from each other the subordinate branches or families of the Cornelian or Claudian race."

Mr. John Devlin has also supplied the following additional nicknames added to Devlin in Munterevlin and its vicinity: Susie, Owen, English, Neddy, McGuinness, Culoughs, Nugent, Offs.

In Griffith's Valuation (1861) appear the following cognomens attached to Devlin in and around Munterevlin: Black, Neave, Rogers, Boy, Clonba, Fox, Gow, Barne, Dan, Sermon, Wheelright, "of the Bridge", Culla, Carpenter, Gundy, Nick, Ned, Edward, Banker, Owen, More, Wee, Susan.

These cognomens are found in the parish of Arboe, where the Devlins are most numerous, and in the neighboring parish of Ballyclog. For similar cognomens added to their surnames among Devlins in the parish of Clonmany, peninsula of Inishowen, Donegal, see note 22 to this chapter.

The same custom prevails in parts of Scotland. "The Scottish fishers are generally in want of surnames. There are seldom more than two or three surnames in a fish town. The grocers in 'booking' their customers, invariably insert the nickname." S. Baring-Gould, Family Names and Their Story, p. 298.

17) Dr. J. G. Devlin says that, although they no longer speak Irish in Munterevlin, they employ occasional Irish words in their everyday speech; as an example "keen-ae-ing" for the howl of a dog at night. This derives from the Irish verb for crying, i.e. caoinim. Such cries are supposed to presage bad luck.

Dr. Seamus Ó Ceallaigh says that Irish was still spoken in his youth in the parish of Derryloran, north of Cookstown.

Mr. Terence Rafferty, writing in 1945, says that he knows a Patrick Devlin, living in the townland of Creggan, parish of Termonmaguirk, Co. Tyrone, who is an Irish speaker. He is about sixty years of age. Mr. Rafferty believes that he is one of the last in Tyrone, if not the very last, to speak Irish as his native tongue, at least of those to whom Irish has come down in an unbroken tradition.

18) From a letter to the author dated Feb. 25, 1937. Dr. J. G. Devlin uses the alternate spellings Ardboe and Mullinahoe, which the author has taken the liberty of changing to those represented on the Ordnance Survey maps.

Some remarks of John O'Donovan about the respective characteristics of Scottish settlers and those of the native Irish, in the country west of Lough Neagh, although possibly showing some bias in the point of view, may be of interest. Writing from Moneymore, Londonderry, Sept. 20, 1834, he says: "There is a remarkable difference between the countenances of these Scottish families and those of the Irish, so that they can be easily distinguished. The Scotch have long, pale faces, with large mouths. The Irish, excepting those that are nearly starved, have round, jolly faces and a look expressive of little care. They are always ready to joke, pun and tell extraordinary stories; the Scotch are more meditative, and always more stupid."

Munterevlin was the birthplace of a distinguished member of the family, Dr. Joseph Devlin, who was born in 1874 at Arboe, in the

electoral division. He began his professional career as a teacher of Latin and Greek in Ireland, went from there to the United States and later to Hawaii and Australia. On his return to this country he made his residence in the city of New York. He is a lexicographer, a lecturer for the Board of Education, and the author of works both in prose and poetry. (The New Standard Encyclopaedia, Vol. IX, p. 128.)

19) See Appendix V for forms of the surname. The Donnellys, like the Devlins, have discarded the O', but of 4300 Hagans at the time of the Census of 1890, 1475 spelled their name O'Hagan.

20) In his Special Report on Surnames in Ireland, Sir Robert E. Matheson states that at the time of the Census of 1890 there were in Ireland (in round numbers) 62,600 Murphys, 55,900 Kellys, 43,600 Sullivans, 41,700 Walshes, 33,700 Smiths, 33,400 O'Briens, 33,300 Byrnes, 32,000 Ryans, 31,200 Connors, 29,100 O'Neills, 29,000 Reillys and 23,000 Doyles. The last on the list of the one hundred most common surnames in Ireland is Dwyer with 8100.

In this census there were slightly more than twice as many Donnellys as there were Devlins, but since there are Donnellys of various lineages in different parts of Ireland, they are not all descendants of the Tyrone sept. There are also several lineages of O'Neills, some of them unconnected with the Ulster family of that name.

In The Irish Independent, for July 28, 1948, J. J. O'Nolan gives the fifty most usual Irish surnames of that date, as determined by an analysis of births, marriages, and deaths. The first dozen are in the same order as in 1890. As expected Devlin does not appear in this list, neither is it the most usual name in any Irish county. Mr. O'Nolan gives Quinn as the most usual name in Tyrone; Doherty in Londonderry, and Gallagher in Donegal.

21) Landholders in these lists include both freeholders and leaseholders.

In the first edition of this book, before the author had profited by Dr. Arthur J. Devlin's collaboration, an attempt was made to confirm the original habitation of the Devlins in Ulster by a study of their present distribution in that province. Taking the Ulster names in Kelly's Ireland Directory, 1905, it is found that 47% of the Devlins listed there lived in Tyrone, 22% in Londonderry, 19% in Antrim and 12% in the four counties of Donegal, Down, Monaghan and Armagh. If Belfast is eliminated, which is a recent growth and has drawn its population from all of northern Ireland, and if the Devlins north of the Ballinderry River, in the barony of Loughinsholin, Co. Londonderry, are added to those in Tyrone, it will be found that over sixty per cent of the Devlins in rural Ulster lived on, or in the vicinity of, their ancestral territory in 1905. With the exception of Belfast, the largest group of Devlins was at Toome Bridge, a fishing village at the northern end of Lough Neagh and the Antrim town nearest to Munterevlin. The percentages in The Belfast and Ulster Directory, 1924, are much the same, except that they show a greater number of Devlins in Belfast. The names that appear in these directories do not include the transient population, nor more than a small proportion of unskilled laborers, but they obviously confirm deductions reached by a study of Matheson and Griffith.

Dr. Arthur J. Devlin says that his search of names in Phillimore's Indexes to Irish Wills, and his inspection of Marriage License Bonds,

give the same results as those from previously cited sources, so far as the distribution of the family is concerned. In the Index to Administrative Bonds, in the Public Record Office, a search of diocesan wills for the period 1742-1838 shows an overwhelming proportion of the Devlins therein listed as living in the Archbishopric of Armagh, where the original Devlin territory was located.

J. J. O'Nolan says (The Irish Independent, July, 28, 1948): "Although the clan system was violently disrupted and officially ceased to exist almost two-and-a-half centuries ago it is, in practice, far from dead. Attendance at rural funerals is sufficient to prove this; as the local public man who is foolish enough to absent himself from the obsequies of a member of any 'long-tailed' family in the district will soon find out. The foreign students of ethnology will be amazed to learn that although the Kellys, Burkes, and Sheas clutter up the world's 'Who's Whos'; these patronymics are still strongly represented in certain well-defined areas in their national homeland. . . In most instances a representative nucleus of each sept still clings with laudable tenacity to the particular district at home where their ancestors took root. There is, for example, one city [Galway] in Ireland which (because of their adjacent numerical tribal preponderance) might still pray to be delivered from the potential fury of the O'Flahertys. In the same way, it is as difficult to dissociate the O'Malley Clan from the seaboard of Mayo as it is to divorce the O'Tooles from the Glens of Wicklow or the Mac-Namaras and McInerneys from Co. Clare."

22) No mention is made of any connection between the peninsula of Inishowen and the Devlins in any of the annals or other documents dating from the clan days. Judging from a letter written by John O'Donovan on Aug. 14, 1835, in his Ordnance Survey Letters, Co. Donegal, that great scholar did not regard the Devlins as of long standing in Inishowen, since they are not included in a list of families in that peninsula concerning whose tribal affiliations he makes inquiries. No Devlins are recorded as residents of Inishowen in A Census of Ireland, circa 1659, edited by Seamus Pender; consequently it would appear that their settlement in that part of Donegal was probably more recent than that date.

According to Griffith's Valuation, nicknames added to Devlin in the parish of Clonmany, Inishowen, were Jem, Ned, Charles, Owen, Donald, Jack, Shawn, Phil, Pat and John. Some of these nicknames are identical with, and others similar to, nicknames used in and around Munterevlin as listed in note 16 to this chapter. It should be considered that these lists of nicknames are by no means inclusive, since only those of landholders are given.

The author is indebted for information about the Donegal branch of the family to one of its descendants, Denis Devlin, who is an Irish diplomat and poet. He is the co-author, with Brian Coffey, of a volume of poetry published in 1930. After graduating from the National University of Ireland and studying at the Sorbonne in Paris, he has served as an Irish diplomat in Rome, Geneva, London, New York, and as Secretary of the Irish Legation in Washington. His sister Moya has been an actress with the Abbey Players, Dublin.

23) Refer to Appendix V for further information about Roger O'Develin, and later in this chapter for particulars about Devlins in the American Revolution.

Samuel Devlin is mentioned by Michael J. O'Brien in the Journal of the American Irish Historical Society, Vol. 25 (1926).

Miss Mary Ashley of the Historical Society of Greenfield, Massachusetts, says that the society occupies the former home of John E. Devlin, who was born in Vermont, in 1821, and from there went to New York, where he made a fortune as a wholesale merchant. He died in 1888 and is buried in New York city. The house in Greenfield was at first used during the summer only, but was later occupied permanently by the family, which had apparently been long resident in New England.

In the Newberry Library, Chicago, there are records of a Devilling family in North Carolina during the eighteenth century. By analogy with similar spellings in Ireland, it seems probable that Devilling is a three-syllable variant of Devlin. The surname Deulin also appears among soldiers in the Continental Army during the American Revolution (Vol. 21 of above journal). This may be a typographical error for Devlin.

It is possible that there were Devlins in the settlement of New Munster, Maryland, a large tract of land granted to Edmond O'Dwyer, and other Irishmen, in 1683. At any rate there were Devlins in this section of Cecil County, Maryland, in the last century, and "the residents of the Eastern Shore of Maryland cling like limpets to the original rocks." (Michael J. O'Brien's article in the Journal of the American Irish Historical Society for 1927 (Vol. 26).)

24) An extract from the Passenger Lists in The Shamrock or Irish Chronicle from Sept. 1815 to Aug. 1816, mentions three Devlins as arriving in the port of New York from Londonderry, Belfast and Dublin, respectively; an indication that the Devlins had begun to emigrate to the United States in considerable numbers even before the days of the Potato Famine of the 1840's, which drove so many of the Irish to these shores.

In an article entitled "Early Settlers in Milwaukee" by Humphrey J. Desmond (Journal of the American Irish Historical Society, Vol. 29, pp. 103-111), it is stated that Frank and James Devlin settled in Milwaukee in 1835, where their descendants still live.

The author once owned a two-volume history of Ireland, illustrated with quaint old prints, now unfortunately lost, whose former owner was Joseph Devlin, a resident of a Utah mining camp in the early days of that territory.

25) M. Hayden and G. A. Moonan, A Short History of the Irish People, p. 499.

26) The following are extracts from The Official Records of the War of the Rebellion (1861-1865) concerning Devlins and Develins. Series II, Vol. VIII, pp. 549-552 contains the correspondence of B. Devlin of Montreal, Canada, with E. M. Stanton, U.S. Secretary of War, concerning the invasion of a town in Vermont by Confederate citizens resident in Canada.

I (37) lists John Devlin as a 2nd Lt. in the Quartermaster's Corps; I (52) mentions George P. Devlin as a private in Anderson's Philadelphia Cavalry Regiment; I (13), p. 239, says that James S. Develin was a lieutenant in the Seventh Missouri Cavalry Regiment; II (2) gives the political speeches of Lafayette Develin in behalf of the northern Confederate sympathizer Vallandigham, and in the same section may be found the extensive legal correspondence of John E. Develin, well known New York lawyer.

In an article in Vol. 27 of The Journal of the American Irish Historical Society, W. H. Mahony mentions J. and W. Develin, who were volunteers from Princeton, New Jersey, during the American Civil War. (For example of a Devlin who was an officer in the Confederate Army see note 28 to this chapter.)

In the above lists the prevalence of archaic three-syllable forms of the surname in this country during the Civil War period will be noticed.

In his Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, F. B. Heitman states that Joseph Devlin was a major in the Fifteenth Illinois Infantry Regiment during the Civil War, and that Daniel C. Devlin was a captain in the Sixty-ninth New York Infantry Regiment during the Spanish American War.

Unfortunately the records of the two World Wars are not yet available to the public, but the author happens to know two members of his immediate family who were officers in both of them.

27) For distribution of the Irish immigrants in this country see A. J. Reilly, in Our Racial and National Minorities, p. 99.

In American Regionalism, p. 503, by W. H. Odum and H. E. Moore, it is stated that "over 45% of Irish in the United States in 1880 were in New York, Philadelphia, Brooklyn and Boston." In American Economic History, p. 301, H. U. Faulkner says that up to 1860 five-sixths of the Irish immigrants remained east of the Appalachians, most of them in the cities.

In the Philadelphia Directory there are listed thirty-one Develins, one Develon, one Devlan, one Devlen, and several hundred Devlins. New York has seven Develins, one Develon, one Develyn and also several hundred Devlins. Washington, D.C. has two Develins and twenty-eight Devlins. Baltimore has one Develin and eighteen Devlins. Boston has Devlins only, and in spite of its large Irish population has fewer of them than Philadelphia.

The family has fewer representatives in western American cities than in those on the eastern seaboard. Chicago, for instance, has less than a column of Devlins, with five DeVelins, one Develon and one D'Evelyn. Cleveland has three Devlyns, in addition to a few Devlins; and Detroit has three Develins, one Develon, and some Devlins. Los Angeles has a scattering of Devlins, one Develin and one D'Evelyn. (From City Directories, 1929-1943).

28) For information about estimated proportion of Irish stock in the United States who are city dwellers, see note by A. J. Reilly in source quoted in the previous note. If the Jews were counted as a unit, and not lumped with other immigrants from the countries where they lived, they might well rival, if not surpass, the Irish in this country as city dwellers.

The following notes, culled from various sources, may be of interest as showing the wide distribution of Devlins in this country.

John E. Develin (1820-1888), whose father was a native of Tyrone, was born at Yonkers, New York. He was a graduate of Georgetown College, District of Columbia, and a prominent lawyer. He drew up the charter of St. John's College, Fordham; was a member of the New York City Council and of the New York Legislature; was active in the overthrow of the Tweed Ring; in establishing a state immigration depot for the care of Irish and other immigrants, and was a large contributor to

Catholic charities. His name is erroneously spelled Devlin in The Catholic Encyclopaedia, Vol. XIII, p. 51. (Information obtained from their files by courtesy of J. T. White and Co. of New York city, publishers of the National Cyclopaedia of American Biography.)

The famous actor Edwin Thomas Booth married on July 7, 1860, Mary Devlin, "a young actress of great charm, who had played Juliet to the Romeo of Charlotte Cushman, but who now, after her marriage, retired from the stage." (Dictionary of American Biography.)

Robert Thomas Devlin was born in Sacramento, California, in 1859. He is a member of a distinguished family of lawyers, originally from Co. Tyrone, and the author of books on legal subjects. (Who's Who in America, 1932-1933.) Mr. Arthur Coghlan Devlin, nephew of the preceding, and son of Mr. William H. Devlin, says that his branch of the family settled in California in 1852.

James Aylward Develin (1861-1923), whose father was born in Inishowen, Donegal, was born in Philadelphia. He was a graduate of Wesleyan College and of the University of Pennsylvania, a prominent lawyer, banker, philanthropist, and a member of Philadelphia City Council. (Who's Who in Philadelphia, 1920-1927.)

Judge James Henry Devlin (1877-1936), a graduate of the Harvard Law School, is described as a "lawyer, jurist and humanitarian." (Encyclopaedia of American Biography, Vol. VIII, p. 169, and by the kindness of Mrs. J. H. Devlin.)

In common with the descendants of other Milesian septs, Devlins in the United States are found preponderantly in the North or West; but Mr. Philip Devlin of Jacksonville, Florida, is a representative of a Southern branch. His father, William, and his uncles, Daniel and Jeremiah, came to New York before the Civil War from Buncrana, in Inishowen, Co. Donegal.

Daniel Devlin, some of whose descendants still live in New York, was the eldest of the migrating brothers and was prominent in financial and banking circles during the mid-years of the nineteenth century. Jeremiah Devlin was a wealthy New York merchant, mentioned in note 18 to Chapter II. Of his numerous children, the sole survivor is Dr. Joseph A. Devlin, who with his brother the Rev. William Devlin, S.J., is mentioned in note 38 to Chapter III, as is another of the original Devlin brothers, the Rev. Philip Devlin, D.D., for whom Mr. Philip Devlin of Jacksonville was named.

The latter's father, William, moved from New York to Kentucky, where he was naturalized, and thence to Louisiana, where he served in the Civil War as a major of Louisiana militia. A saber bearing upon its blade the embossed presentation "Wm. Devlin from members of Company D, 2nd Division, La. Militia" is in the possession of his son Philip. His other surviving descendants are all residents of New Orleans. William, who died in 1892 at the age of 69, was made a Knight of the Papal Order of St. Gregory the Great by his personal friend, Pope Pius IX, and the collar of that order appears suspended from the shield in a book-plate copy of the Devlin arms kindly given to the author by Mr. Philip Devlin. In all other respects these arms are the same as those of Jeremiah Devlin, mentioned above.

29) See reference to Arthur Devlin later in this chapter.

30) An article in The Times, London, concerning the annual celebration of The Maclean, in Scotland, for members of his clan, stated that

there are now twice as many of that name in the United States and Canada as there are in Scotland. Irish immigration into this country has been even greater in proportion to Ireland's population than has been Scottish immigration to that of Scotland.

31) The Devlins have made both cultural and military contributions to the British Empire.

Sir Patrick A. Devlin (born 1905), knighted on his appointment to the bench, was at 42 the youngest of the High Court judges. He was educated at Stonyhurst and at Cambridge, where he was president of the Union. The Irish Independent, Oct. 13 and 25, 1948.

Sir Patrick is one of three brothers, of whom the second is Christopher (born 1907), a priest of the Society of Jesus, and the third William (born 1911), a graduate of Oxford and an actor whose career is described in Who's Who in the Theater.

The Rev. Christopher Devlin has kindly supplied the following information. His branch of the family had been settled for several generations in the west of Scotland, but the great-great-grandfather of the three brothers is said to have been a farmer near Donaghmore, Co. Tyrone, a few miles southwest of Munterevlin, the former territory of his sept.

May Devlin is mentioned in Who's Who in Art (1934) as a well known painter of water colors in Glasgow, Scotland.

Dr. A. J. Devlin says that immediately after the First World War, when he was still in the British Army as a lieutenant in the Second Battalion, The Prince of Wales Leinster Regiment, according to "The Monthly Army List, July, 1920", there were still eight Devlins holding commissions in the British Army.

There has been a considerable Irish emigration to Argentina. In The Story of the Irish in Argentina, p. 67, by Thomas Murray, it is said that in the year 1825 Bernard Kieran, who had married Mary Devlin, was a professor of astronomy and mathematics in that country. He later moved to Soriano in Uruguay.

32) Mary Hickson, Ireland in the Seventeenth Century (Deposition No. 77). For an account of the Ulster Protestants in Ireland and America, with a description of their characteristics and exploits on both sides of the Atlantic, see The Scotch-Irish in America, by Henry Jones Ford; also The West in American History, by Dan Elbert Clark, pp. 83, 86, 88, 89, etc.

33) Mr. Terence Rafferty has made the following translations from The Journal of Friar O'Mellan. Under the date April, 1642, it is said: "In the parish of Kilcronaghan [barony of Loughinsholin, County Derry, to the north of the Ballinderry River] there came to this assembly from Tullaghoge; Felim (the Grim) O'Hagan, Captain; John O'Hagan, son of Cormac, Captain; John O'Hagan, son of Eoghan, C; Niall Quinn, C; Hugh O'Hagan, son of Teague, C; Patrick O'Mellan, son of Rory the Spotted, C; Rury Murre (the Grim?) O'Devlin, C; Felim O'Neill, the Gloomy, C; Cormac O'Neill from Outleckan, C; Donal O'Neill, son of Cu Uladh, son of John, C; Art Junior O'Hagan, son of Donal, son of Hugh, C; Brian O'Neill, son of Fear Dorcha, son of Brian the Scabbed, C; Art, son of Hugh, son of John from Tarraghter, C; William Taffa, C; . . ."

In the same journal under June, 1643: "There were slain on our side a colonel, i.e. Conn Junior, son of Conn, son of Niall, son of Brian Faghartach [of Kinelarty]; and Niall O'Neill, son of Niall, son of Turlough,

son of Conn the Halt, Captain; Heber O'Neill, son of Cu Uladh, son of Fear Dorcha, Captain; and Brian O'Devlin, a good and valiant captain..."

It will be noticed how similar this journal is in style to the Irish annals. Dr. Arthur J. Devlin raises the question whether the Brian O'Devlin mentioned may not have been the son of the last Chief of Munterevlin who joined with his father in selling the leasehold of two townlands in the barony of Dungannon to Dame Margerie Roe, in 1615. See note 4 to this chapter.

34) This is the entry under the date of May, 1643. Mr. Terence Rafferty contends, it would appear correctly, that the translation should read MacQuillans instead of O'Devlins. The Irish forms of the two surnames are similar enough to have caused this error. For one looking in imagination north from Lough Neagh, the septs mentioned would appear clockwise from west to east in their proper order, if the MacQuillans, a major sept in their area (northern Antrim), are substituted for the O'Devlins. There would seem to be no reason for mentioning the latter in this connection, since their land was south of that occupied by the O'Cahans.

The translation in the text, however, has been left undisturbed for several reasons. 1) Readers might find this passage in the Journal and wonder why it was not included in a history of the O'Devlins. 2) The O'Devlins were doubtless represented at the Council in Muintir Birn (south of Munterevlin), and all except the last sentence of this passage deals with matters of immediate concern for them. 3) If Friar O'Mellan had in imagination started his survey from Mullintur, instead of from a point north of Lough Neagh, one of the first septs mentioned would have been the O'Devlins, and conditions in their territory were probably much the same as to their north and east.

According to the notes of B. MacCarthy to The Annals of Ulster, Vol. IV, p. 276; "Muintir-Birn was in Dungannon barony, Co. Tyrone, adjoining Trough barony, Co. Monaghan." According to John O'Donovan, in his notes to The Journal of Friar O'Mellan, Muintir-Birn has been anglicized as Minterburn. In the clan days its chief had been Mac-Murchadha (MacMurrough), who was associated with O'Devlin and MacCawell as "true kern" of O'Neill.

The O'Kanes, or O'Cahans, were the former Princes of Limavady, previously mentioned.

In A History of Mediaeval Ireland, 1st edition, p. 305, Edmund Curtis says that the origin of the surname MacQuillan or FitzUgolin is uncertain. According to Duaid MacFirbis the MacQuillans were of Welsh, not Milesian, lineage.

The People of Ára were the O'Haras of Crebilly, in Dal Riada, Antrim (Edmund Hogan, Onomasticon Goedelicum, p. 548); and according to Owen Connellan, in his notes to The Annals of the Four Masters, p. 22, they were of Heberian extraction, being an offshoot of the great sept of O'Haras in Sligo, Connaught, but long settled in Antrim. Mr. Terence Rafferty says that the O'Haras of Crebilly claimed a Clan Owen descent, but may in fact have had the lineage above described.

In his notes to The Topographical Poem of John O'Dugan, etc., p. xxiv, John O'Donovan says that The People of Iveagh (the Magennises) were located in Co. Down.

The Clandeboy of the Route belonged to the branch of the O'Neills east of Lough Neagh. According to Edmund Curtis, A History of Mediaeval

Ireland, 2nd edition, p. 167, the Route was a district in northern Antrim extending from Ballymoney to Ballycastle.

For conditions in Ireland at this time see T. B. Macaulay, The History of England, Vol. I, p. 104 et seq. In reference to this period Carlyle, speaking in superlatives, says: "There has been no scene seen under the sun like Ireland for these eight years." Thomas Carlyle, The Life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 167.

35) See Book V, Chapter III, in M. Hayden and G. A. Moonan, A Short History of the Irish People, for an account of these Irish brigades and of Irish generals in Continental European Armies.

36) From A Jacobite Narrative of the War in Ireland, 1688-1691, edited by John T. Gilbert. For this item and its interpretation the author is indebted to the kindness of Dr. Arthur J. Devlin.

37) Officers in this regiment with Milesian surnames are MacMahon, Roirk (O'Rourke), MacSwyny (MacSweeney), MaGauran (MacGovern), O'Brien, Dempsey (O'Dempsey), Neale (O'Neill), Doherty (O'Doherty). The list was compiled by a French official, hence the French titles for the officers and the curious spellings of Irish surnames. Of five surnames entitled to the O' in the above list only O'Brien retains it, so there is nothing surprising about the elimination of the O' from O'Develin. Perhaps these officers retained the O' in intercourse with their own nationals, certainly so when written in Irish, while eliminating it when dealing with the French. It seems unlikely that they should all have discarded this prefix at so early a date.

38) Francis O'Devlin is also mentioned by A. S. Green, The Making of Ireland and Its Undoing, p. 457. The account of life at Prague during Francis O'Devlin's time is given by Professor Eamonn O Tuathail, of Trinity College, Dublin, in Eigse: A Journal of Irish Studies, Vol. IV, Part I, p. 79.

The following are a few among the many Devlins who have been Catholic clergymen:

In Inis-Owen and Tirconnell, p. 231, by William James O'Doherty, mention is made of a distinguished member of the Donegal Devlins. The Rev. Philip Devlin, D.D., was "born in Buncrana, in 1816, and belonged to a talented family that emigrated to America about 1840, where two of his brothers became merchant princes in New York, and there occupied places of distinction. Dr. Devlin was educated at the College of Maynooth and was delegated by the Irish bishops to collect funds in America for the founding of the Irish Catholic University. After his return he repaired to Rome, where he received his divinity degree, not as an honorary distinction, but from his abilities and knowledge of theology and history displayed at a public thesis on these subjects."

In The Catholic Encyclopaedia, Vol. XIII, p. 51, it is said that the Rev. Francis Devlin of Portsmouth, Virginia, in the diocese of Richmond, died in 1855, "a martyr to priestly duty in combatting the yellow fever plague of that year."

The Rev. William Devlin (1875-1938) was for six years president of Boston College, later rector of the Jesuit Seminary, Poughkeepsie, New York, and at the time of his death Rector of the Church of St. Ignatius Loyola, New York city. His brother, Dr. Joseph A. Devlin, is a prominent surgeon in New York city. (Information from Leaders in Education, and by the kindness of Miss Mary Devlin of New York city.)

According to The Irish Independent, (Dublin, 194-) Father John

Devlin, of St. Victor's Church, Hollywood, California, advises film companies on Catholic ceremonial.

39) For proportion of the Irish in the American Army during the Revolution see E. F. Roberts, Ireland in America, p. 32.

40) "Some Virginia Soldiers of the Revolution", by Michael J. O'Brien, in The Journal of the American Irish Historical Society, Vol. 27, p. 245 et seq., also the same author in Vol. 21 of this journal.

The valuable studies of Michael J. O'Brien have shown the great variety of racial origins among the Irish in the Continental Army, and have conclusively demolished the Scotch-Irish legend, according to which they were preponderantly of Scottish extraction. For further information on this subject see his A Hidden Phase of American History, p. 360; and George Washington's Associations with the Irish.

Not only are Milesian surnames fairly common among the so-called Scotch-Irish in the United States, but a large proportion of their names are of English, not Scottish, origin. In his account of their settlements in western Pennsylvania, during the colonial period, S. G. Fisher says, in The Making of Pennsylvania, p. 179, that fully half the population of foreign descent in Ulster during the eighteenth century are estimated to have been of English, not Scottish, extraction. For similar reasons H. U. Faulkner, in American Economic History, p. 104, objects to the use of Scotch-Irish as a designation. Ulster Irish, and not Scotch-Irish, is the proper term to use in speaking of this important element in the American population.

41) The tombstone over the grave of James Devlin of South Carolina was erected by his son Col. James Devlin. Information about this branch of the family was kindly supplied by Miss Hattie Thompson of Davidson, North Carolina, a great-great-granddaughter of this revolutionary soldier.

For James Devlin of Procter's Artillery see article by Michael J. O'Brien in The Journal of the American Irish Historical Society, Vol. 27.

For information about another Revolutionary soldier, Francis Develon, or Devalon, see Appendix V.

42) For an account of the penalties to which the Quaker religion was subjected in Ireland see Irish chapters of W.E.H. Lecky's A History of England in the Eighteenth Century.

43) Richard Develin belonged to the Inishowen branch of the family that had settled in northern Donegal. His son Patrick, the Quaker, emigrated to Philadelphia, the Quaker City, in the 40's of the last century. There he left descendants, of which the author is one.

This branch of the family were not the first of their nationality and religion on the banks of the Delaware. In 1681-1682 a group of Irish Quakers secured land in the vicinity of what is now Camden, New Jersey, across the river from Philadelphia. (John Palmer Garber, The Valley of the Delaware, p. 63.)

In his Immigration of the Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania, Albert Cook Myers states that they were also found in William Penn's colony, on the west bank of the river, from the earliest days of the Pennsylvania settlement. The author gives as rarities a few examples of Milesian surnames among the Quakers, including one with the prefix O' but says on p. 32 that they are very scarce.

44) The Irish Independent, Dublin, Aug. 23, 1938, states in a review

of the first edition of this book that the general opinion in Ireland would place Ann Devlin foremost in the family as an historical character.

45) The inscription on Ann Devlin's grave is given in The Gael, New York, Nov., 1904, p. 365. For further particulars about Ann Devlin see Appendix IV of this book.

46) Numerous references to Joseph Devlin appear in Letters and Leaders of My Day, by T. M. Healy; and in The Revolution in Ireland by W. Alison Phillips. In The History of Ireland, 1798-1924, Sir James O'Connor, although in disagreement with his politics in some instances, refers to Joseph Devlin as "a brilliant speaker, a sincere patriot, and himself a most tolerant Roman Catholic." Mr. Dulanty, Irish High Commissioner in London, said of Joseph Devlin, during a radio talk reported by The Irish Independent, Dublin, Jan. 19, 1940: "Such devoted and personal loyalty to a leader I have never seen equalled in England", and also, "As a platform speaker Joe had probably no equal in his own day."

APPENDIX I

THE ORIGIN AND DESCENT OF THE DEVLINS

The following genealogical tables, taken verbatim from ancient books and manuscripts, have been prepared by Mr. Terence Rafferty for this appendix. Proper names have been slightly modernized and standardized except for Irish forms of Devlin. All the lineages given are in the male line.

As will be explained later, the genealogists of the Books of Ballymote and Lecan, and also Duald MacFirbis, have confused Domhnall of Dabhall (died A.D. 915) with his remote ancestor Domhnall of the Many Wiles (died A.D. 566). Only O Cleirigh avoids this error and gives the true genealogy of the Men of Drumleene and their descendants, the O'Devlins and the O'Donnellys. The reader is advised to disregard the collateral branches of the Men of Drumleene, that have been given in such minute detail by the other genealogists, and to confine his attention to the direct line of descent as it appears in O Cleirigh's Genealogy. The Genealogical Chart at the beginning of this volume, not only gives the direct line of the Devlin lineage from their eponym to Conn of the Hundred Battles, but also shows the principal collateral divisions mentioned in the text.

THE BOOK OF BALLYMOTE (72a, 75a, and 75b)

The Genealogy of the Men of Druim Lighean.

Giolla mac Liag, son of Eachthighearn, son of Donnghal, son of Ceallachán, son of Eochaidh, son of Domhnall.

Eochaidh, son of Domhnall, son of Muircheartach, son of Muireadhach, son of Eoghan, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages.

Eochaidh had three sons, namely Ceallach, Ailill and Fogartach.

Giolla Críost and Larene, the two sons of Ailill, son of Flannagán, son of Ceallachán, son of Doibhilen, son of Garbh.

Flaithbheartach, son of Ualgharg, son of Lomasna, son of Conaing, son of Doibhilen.

Cathalán, son of Giolla Domhnainn, son of Muireadhach, son of Cinaeth, son of Cathalán, son of Cathmhaol, son of Conaing, son of Doibhilen.

The People of Cearnachan, son of Conaing, son of Dobhailen.

The People of Breslen, son of Conaing, son of Dobhailen.

THE BOOK OF LECAN (56a 25 verso, 58b 14 recto)

This is the book of the Men of Druim Lighean.

Giolla mac Liag, son of Eachthighearn, son of Donnghal, son of Doibhilen, son of Donnghal, son of Seachnasach, son of Ceallach, son of Eochaidh, son of Domhnall.

Eochaidh, son of Domhnall, son of Muircheartach, son of Muireadhach, son of Eoghan, son of Niall.

Eochaidh had three sons, namely, Ceallach and Ailill and Fógartach.

Giolla Críost and Larene, the two sons of Ailill, son of Flannagán, son of Ceallachán, son of Doibhilen, son of Garbh.

Flaithbheartach, son of Ualgharg, son of Lomasna, son of Conaing, son of Doibhilen.

Cathalán, son of Giolla Domhnainn, son of Muireadhach, son of Cinaeth, son of Cathalán, son of Cathmhaol, son of Conaing, son of Doibhilen.

The People of Cearnachán, son of Conaing, son of Doibhilen.

The People of Breslen, son of Conaing, son of Doibhilen.

At Seachnasach the sons of Mochain [Mochadhain] meet Ceallach, Conaing and Ceallachán.

THE GENEALOGIES OF DUALD MACFIRBIS (133c)

The Genealogy of the Men of Druim Lighean.

Ceallach from whom are Teallach [i.e. house of] Conaing, Teallach Cheallacháin, Teallach Cheallaigh, and Teallach Mochadhain or Mocain, and Ó Conaing and Ó Ceallacháin are the first [seniors?]

Ailill, from whom are the People of Eochaidhen, and Fógartach, from whom are the People of Reogan or Reochan and the People of Banbhán or Balbhán.

[There were] three sons of Eochaidh, son of Domhnall of the Many Wiles, son of Muircheartach, son of Muireadhach, son of Eoghan, etc.

Giolla mac Liag, son of Eachaidhen [read Eachthighearn], son of Donnghal, son of Ceallachán, son of Dobhuilen or Doibhilen, son of Donnghal, son of Seachnasach, son of Ceallach, son of Eochaidh, son of Domhnall of the Many Wiles.

Giolla Críost and Laisren or Lairene were the two sons of Ailill, son of Flannaghán, son of Dobhuilen.

Flaithbheartach, son of Garbh, son of Ualgharg, son of Lomasna, son of Conaing, son of Dobhuilen.

Cathalán, son of Giolla Domhnainn, son of Muireadhach, son of Cinaeth, son of Cathalán, son of Cathmhaol, son of Conaing, son of Dobhuilen.

The People of Cearnachán, son of Conaing, son of Dobhuilen.

The People of Breslen, son of Conaing, son of Dobhuilen.

At the aforesaid Seachnasach the People of Mochadhan meet Ceallach, Conaing and Ceallachán.

THE GENEALOGIES OF Ó CLÉIRIGH (56b 14)

The Genealogy of the Men of Druim Lighean.

Giolla mac Liag, son of Eachthighearn, son of Donnghal, son of Ceallachán, son of Dobhoilen, son of Donnghal, son of Seachnasach, son of Ceallach, son of Eochaidh, son of Domhnall, son of Aedh Finnliath.

In his notes to The Annals of the Four Masters (Vol. VI, p. 2426 et seq.) John O'Donovan says: "The pedigree of Gilla-Macliag O'Donnelly, who was slain at Downpatrick by DeCourcy in 1177, is variously given in several Irish manuscripts. In The Book of Ballymote; in The Book of Lecan, and in Duald MacFirbis's Genealogical Manuscript (Lord Roden's copy) it is deduced from Domhnall Ilchealgach [of the Many Wiles], monarch of Ireland, who died in 556; but the number of generations given from this Domhnall down to Gilla-Macliag, who was slain in 1177, is only nine, which is about nine too short, and shows clearly that the transcribers of these manuscripts have grafted Domhnall, the ancestor of Gilla-Macliag, on a wrong stem. Fortunately, however, the true line of Gilla-Macliag O'Donnelly is preserved in the Genealogical Manuscript

of Cucogry, or Peregrine O'Clery, one of the Four Masters, now in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, beautifully written on paper in Cucogry's own hand."

O'Donovan then proceeds to give the genealogy of the O'Donnellys for twenty-three generations, from Niall of the Nine Hostages to Gilla-Macliag, with a parallel genealogy of the O'Neills from the common ancestor of the two septs, i.e. Aedh Finnliath (Fair-gray), who died in 879. (A parallel genealogy of the MacLoughlins, whose common ancestor with the O'Donnellys is said to be Domnall of Dabhall, King of Ailech, is given in John O'Hart's Irish Pedigrees, Vol. I, p. 548.)

In his anglicization of Dobhoilen, O'Donovan uses Develin, one of the three-syllable forms of the modern surname. Although he does not state directly that this was the eponymous ancestor of the O'Devlins, being occupied primarily with the descent of the O'Donnellys, he apparently implies as much.

Mr. Terence Rafferty and John O'Hart (Irish Pedigrees, Vol. I, p. 715) are both in agreement that O'Clery's Genealogy is correct, and Mr. James E. McGuire arrived separately at the same conclusion. The author is indebted to Mr. McGuire for illuminating comments on the Devlin genealogy, including the hypothesis that the Garbh given as father of Doibhilen in several of the pedigrees is only a nickname, meaning "Rough", attached to the Donnghal who appears in other places as Doibhilen's father. Mr. McGuire also suggests that, whereas the O'Donnellys stem from Doibhilen's son Ceallachán, the O'Devlins may derive from Conaing, the elder son, and that the Ua Gairbh mentioned as Chief of the Men of Drumleene in 1188 may have been one of Conaing's descendants and possibly the son of Ualgharg, who appears in the genealogy as of the same generation as Gilla-Macliag O'Donnelly, Chief of the Men of Drumleene, who was killed in 1177. Mr. McGuire doubts that Ua Gairbh was a surname. He thinks that, like Ó Conaing and Ó Ceallachán in MacFirbis's Genealogy, it may have been merely an indication of descent, signifying "grandson of Garbh."

Apparently the author of The Book of Ballymote, which slightly antedates The Book of Lecan, having been composed at the end of the fourteenth century in Sligo (Connaught), had obtained fragments of the genealogy of the Men of Drumleene which extended back as far as Domnall. To Ulster genealogists the latter needed no further identification than his bare name, being well known to them as Domnall of Dabhall, King of Ailech, who died in 915. Since he was the last royal ancestor on this stem, he was a logical starting point for a genealogy, as Domnall's ancestors in the main line of the Clan Owen kings were familiar to all Ulster genealogists. But the author of The Book of Ballymote, living at a distance in an age of poor communications, was probably not an authority on Ulster genealogies and, in any case, would not have been particularly interested in a branch of the Clan Owen that had been for many generations excluded from succession to the kingship. The Sligo genealogist, therefore, either through ignorance, or perhaps from disinclination to pursue further a subject that was not of prime interest to him, omitted nine generations, extending over four centuries, and identified Domnall in the genealogy he had at hand with Domnall of the Many Wiles, a remote ancestor of the Men of Drumleene. The fact that both Domnalls had sons named Eochaidh may have contributed to the genealogist's error, although this was hardly much of a

coincidence, since Eochaidh was one of the most usual of ancient Irish names. It appears that the genealogist of The Book of Lecan, and later Duaid MacFirbis writing in the seventeenth century, simply copied what they found in The Book of Ballymote, with minor variations and attempted explanations. Neither of them were Ulstermen, nor especially concerned with the details of an unimportant Ulster genealogy, but Cucogry O'Clery was not only a genealogist but also an Ulsterman and therefore less likely to make such an obvious mistake in an Ulster genealogy as that of which the other genealogists had been guilty.

If O'Clery's Genealogy needs any further confirmation it may be found by observing how closely the generations in it conform to the average length of Irish generations as given by Dr. Eoin MacNeill. In a review of the first edition of this book (Irish Historical Studies, Sept., 1939), Dr. MacNeill says: "Kuno Meyer and I made independent calculations based on a large number of Irish pedigrees, and we came to the same result, an average of 34 years to a generation in the male line."¹ As can be seen by referring to the genealogical chart that precedes the first chapter, whether we take the generations down to Devlin from Conn of the Hundred Battles, from Niall of the Nine Hostages, or from any of the later ancestors, their agreement with the average of 34 years is striking.

It is evident that in the first edition of this book the author was led astray by the error of John O'Hart, and other writers of his time, in tracing the origin of Milesian surnames to ancestors of an impossibly early date. B. W. De Courcy (Genealogical History of the Milesian Families of Ireland, p. 36) says that the Devlins derive their name from Eochaidh Daimhlén, a prince of the fourth century, son of Carbery the Liffey-lover and ancestor of the Clan Colla. He also states that they belonged to the Hy Many branch of this clan, which was located in the present county of Roscommon, in southern Connaught. John Rooney, in his Genealogical History of Irish Families, probably taking DeCourcy as his authority, also says that the Devlins derived their name from Eochaidh Daimhlén. Such a derivation is obviously preposterous. No surname was taken from so remote an ancestor and the Devlins could not have belonged to the Hy Many. As we have seen, Devlin is distinctly an Ulster name and is very rare in Connaught. All septs in Tyrone who occupied a similar position to that of the O'Devlins were of Clan Owen lineage. DeCourcy may have made this mistake because he thought that the Devlins take their name and descent from the Muintir Dubhlainn, who were a Hy Many sept mentioned in The Genealogies and Tribes of Hy Many, but in his notes to this book John O'Donovan says that this sept is now represented by the surname Dowling, which he takes care to distinguish from the Dowlings of Leinster, who had a different origin. O'Donovan is confirmed in this statement by Edmund Hogan, in Onomasticon Goedelicum, p. 547. The sept of O'Devlins in Sligo, which is dealt with in the following appendix, belonged neither to the Hy Many nor to the Clan Cwen.

The following is a list of modern surnames derived from names that appear in the genealogies of the Men of Drumleene, including those that figure on the main stem of this branch of the Clan Cwen from the time of Conn of the Hundred Battles. Few of these surnames, however, take their origin from the individuals there mentioned, since most of these names are common in the genealogies of other Milesian clans.

Aedh (Hughes, MacHugh), Art (Hart), Binneach (Binney), Breslen (Breslin), Cairbre (Carbery), Cathalán (Callan), Cathmhaol (Cowell, Campbell and MacCall), Ceallach (Kelly), Caellachán (Callaghan), Cearnachán (Kernahan), Cinaeth (Kenny and MacKenna), Conaing (Gunning), Conall (O'Connell and MacConnell), Conn (Quinn), Cormac (MacCormick), Dolbhilen (Devlin or Develin), Domhnall (O'Donnell and MacDonnell), Donnghai (Donnelly), Eachthighearn (Aherne), Eochaidh (Haughey and Keogh), Eoghan (Owen), Feradhach (Faraday and Ferry), Fergal (Farrell), Fergus (Ferguson-Scottish), Fiachra (McKeighry), Flaithbheartach (Flaherty), Flannagán (Flanagan), Fogartach (Fogarty and Gogarty), Garbh (Kilgarriffe), Giolla (Kil in Kilpatrick and Gil in Gilbride, Gilmurray, Gilmartin and Gilchrist), Maelduin (Muldoon), Muircheartach (Moriarty and MacBrearty), Muireadhach (Murray), Niall (O'Neill), Seachnasach (Shaughnessy), Ualgharg (McGoldrick).

Typical Norman-Irish names are: Barry, Burke (De Burgo), Butler, Dalton, DeCourcy, (De) Lacy, Dillon, Fitzgerald, Fitzgibbon, Grace and Redmond. The Normans were accompanied by Welsh who introduced such names as Barrett, Joyce, Lawless, Nugent, Power (LePoer) and Walsh. Among the early invaders were also Flemings, whose descendants bear names like Fleming, Keating, Prendergast and Roche. Earlier than any of the above were the Norse invaders, who are now represented in Ireland by such surnames as Archbold, Coppinger, Esmond (Osmond), Harold, McKitrick (i.e. son of Sitric), Plunket, Sigerson and Skiddy. These surnames are in general distinguished from those of Milesian families, which are patronymics preceded by O' or Mac, like O'Devlin and MacLoughlin. (Burke's Peerage, Burke's Landed Gentry of Ireland, Edmund Curtis, History of Mediaeval Ireland, (1st edition) pp. 51, 200, 305, and Owen Connellan's notes to The Annals of the Four Masters, p. 464, etc.) Mr. Terence Rafferty has kindly added other examples as well as approving those already collected.

NOTES TO APPENDIX I

1) There is apparently a wide variety of opinions as to the years that constitute a generation, and this variety may possibly be accounted for by diverse conditions in different countries and in different eras. Taking the average number of years for a generation, as given by Dr. MacNeill, the number of ancestors for each Devlin now living would have been about sixty-seven million in the middle of the eleventh century, when the eponymous ancestor of the family probably flourished, but if we adopt the computations of Henry Adams, in his Mont St. Michel and Chartres, p. 3, there would have been as many as five hundred million, and not sixty-seven million, in the eleventh century. In his White Shadows in the South Seas, p. 447, Frederick O'Brien gives an average of 25 years to a generation among the Polynesians.

APPENDIX II

THE O'DEVLINS OF SLIGO

There was at one time a sept of Sligo in Connaught named O'Devlin. They had no connection with the O'Devlins of Tyrone and, if not extinct, their surname may have been anglicized as O'Dolan and not O'Devlin. In translations of the annals and genealogies, however, the English form of their name appears as O'Devlin, consequently the following details about them are given in case any readers of this history should find references to this sept and confuse them with the Tyrone O'Devlins from which Devlins of the present day are descended.

Mr. Terence Rafferty quotes the following from the Genealogies of Duald MacFirbis concerning the lineage of these Sligo O'Devlins: "The race of Fiacha Suigde, son of Fedhlimidh Reachtmhar [i.e. the Lawgiver], i.e. Corca Firthri, in the territory of Corann in Connachta, of whom were Diarmaid Ua Duibhne [a famous character in the Fenian sagas] and Uí Chuinn with their heirs, i.e. the sub-kings of Corca Fir Thri, till the descendants of Tadhg, son of Cian, son of Ailill Ólom from Munster, ejected them, and Uí Dobhailean, and the Uí Duinn Chaichigh and the Uí Ailella, of whom MacLiag the poet [the poet of Brian Boru, victor at Clontarf, 1014], are of Corca Fir Thri."

Fedhlimidh Reachtmhar (died A.D. 119), mentioned in this genealogy, was reputedly the father of Conn of the Hundred Battles. He was therefore the common ancestor of the O'Devlins of Sligo and of the O'Devlins of Tyrone, if genealogies dating from so remote a period can be trusted, which is extremely doubtful. It seems more probable that the early part of their pedigree was fabricated at a much later date by the genealogists, in order to establish a connection between the Corca Fir Thri, to whom the O'Devlins of Sligo belonged, and the ruling race in Ireland, the Progeny of Conn.¹ Where reasons of prestige furnish cause for fabrication, the more ancient portions of Milesian genealogies should be viewed with suspicion, and it seems probable, that such motives were operative in this instance.

According to The Annals of the Four Masters, Dobhailen, eponymous ancestor of the Sligo sept, died in 885, and in 1031 the same annals state that O'Devlin, Chief of Corca Firthri, was treacherously slain. The last reference to the O'Devlins of Sligo appears in The Topographical Poem of John O'Dugan, written before 1372, in which O'Devlin is spoken of as "Lord of Corann, of good fame." After this, with one possible exception that will be discussed later, we hear no more of them. They may have become extinct in the incessant warfare that was characteristic of Ireland during the Middle Ages.²

It will be noticed by a consultation of Appendix VII to this volume that Sligo had no Devlins as landholders (either free or leaseholders) in Griffith's Valuation (1857-58), nor could Dr. Arthur J. Devlin find any mention of O'Devlins in county histories of Sligo and Mayo, after the fourteenth century. At the end of The History of Sligo, by T. O'Rorke, is a census of Sligo inhabitants, both of Irish and English descent, in 1659. Although all the principal Sligo family names are recorded, no Devlins appear in this compilation. Devlin is a common name in the

Ulster section of Kelly's Ireland Directory, 1905, but there is no Devlin entry in the Connaught section. Since this directory contains only the names of householders, landowners, business and professional men, there may nevertheless have been Devlins among the laboring or transient population of Connaught in 1905. Fifteen years before this directory was published, in 1890, Sir Robert E. Matheson, in his Special Report on Surnames in Ireland, says that although there were 3950 Devlins in Ulster, 850 in Leinster, and even 120 in Munster, there were only 90 in all Connaught, or less than two per cent of their total number in Ireland. This means that there were in 1890 more stray Devlins in Munster, a province with which they never had any historic connection and at the other end of Ireland from Ulster, than there were in the neighboring province of Connaught. The inference to be drawn from these figures would seem to be that whatever Devlins may be in Connaught at the present day have drifted across the border from Ulster and are not descendants of a sept that vanished from the pages of history many centuries ago.

In H. T. Knox's History of the County of Mayo, and in The History of Sligo, by W. G. Wood Martin, appear references to these Sligo O'Devlins, but none of later date than that already mentioned. According to Wood Martin (p. 319), in 1585 Carby MacDonough was Chief of Corann, the former territory of the O'Devlins, and on p. 104 he says that the O'Haras and the MacDonoughs replaced the O'Devlins in the barony of Leyney. These records, with the absence of Devlins from land valuations and directories, would lead to the conclusion that the Sligo O'Devlins have left no posterity, at least none under the anglicized form of Devlin.

The only testimony to the contrary is that of J. C. MacDonough, in his History of Ballymote, p. 26, where he says of the alleged descendants of this mediaeval Sligo sept "that many are still scattered through the country under the corrupted names of Devlin and Devine." The same author states, in an installment of this history that appeared in The Sligo Champion, April 20, 1935, that "they are especially to be found on the slopes of the Ox Mountains."

As we have seen, Matheson says that there were only 90 Devlins in all Connaught in 1890, so that those bearing this name could not be described as numerous in that part of Ireland. MacDonough's opinion that Devine is a corruption of the Irish form for Devlin seems improbable. The Devines are well known as a family of Clan Colla descent whose home was in Fermanagh, an Ulster county lying between Sligo and Tyrone. The original Irish form of Devine was Daimhin. (John O'Donovan's notes to The Topographical Poem of John O'Dugan, etc., p. xxiv, also John O'Hart, Irish Pedigrees, Vol. I, pp. 403, 406, etc.). The Devines are well represented in Ireland, and also in the United States, but any of that name in Sligo would appear to have originated in the neighboring county of Fermanagh, in the absence of convincing proof to the contrary.³

Fortunately we have the opinion on this subject of one well qualified to judge. Dr. Arthur J. Devlin says: "The name Devine or Devins is common in the region of the Ox Mountains, but not Devlin. During 1929-30 while I was Medical Officer of Health for the Aclare District (barony of Leyney, adjoining Corann), in which a large part of the Ox Mountains are situated, there were no Devlins there. But I was frequently asked

if I was son of one, Mark Devlin, who had lived in a mountain townland (I think it was Gorterslin). In my search of Griffith's Valuation (1857-58), the nearest Devlin was in the town of Ballina (County Mayo) twelve miles away. I am inclined to think that he was a merchant or professional man, from the details of valuation of property and his address, Knox St., Ballina. Aclare District had no Devlins in this Valuation. In the neighboring town of Tobbercurry, a year or so before I came to this district, one of the officials of the local bank was a Mr. Devlin, whom I never met. He was, I understood, from Co. Tyrone and had been transferred elsewhere. I did not hear of any relatives of Mark Devlin.

From 1930-33 I was M.O.H. of Cliffoney District, Co. Sligo (forty miles from Aclare) and during my time there never met another of the name. Old people often told me that my name was common in neighboring (from north Sligo) County Donegal, but they never knew any Devlins in Co. Sligo north of Sligo town. Of course south Co. Sligo took in Corann and Leyney, territory of the Corca Firthri. At any rate we seem safe in saying that any Devlins in Sligo in recent times have come from Ulster or were birds of passage like myself."

Although the O'Devlins of Sligo have apparently long since vanished from their ancestral territory, the last reference to them dating from the fourteenth century, Mr. James E. McGuire has discovered a reference to a Develin or Dillon family mentioned in The History of the County and Town of Galway (p. 56) by James Hardiman. In note 16 to this history it is stated that James Develin was portreve of Galway in 1431. He was the last of the name on record. Mr. McGuire conjectures that Dillon was a variant of Develin and that this family may have been an offshoot of the Sligo sept, as apparently were the Erenaghs⁴ of Camma, a parish in the barony of Athlone, Roscommon. (See note 2 to this appendix for information about these erenaghs.) If any descendants of the Corca Firthri remain in southern Connaught, it would appear that they are now known by the name of Dillon and not Develin. In fact Roderick O'Flaherty (A Chorographical Description of West or H-Iar Connaught, p. 34), writing in 1684, not only states that the Develins of Galway were extinct in his time, but also says that their coat of arms was the same as that of the Dillons. Examples of this elimination of the "v" sound in Devlin or Develin are given in Appendix V to this book.

The author is indebted through Mr. Terence Rafferty to Mr. John Garvin, of Dublin, an authority on Sligo genealogies, for his opinion that the name Ó Dobhailén in Sligo was anglicized as O'Dolan, and not as O'Devlin. In Irish Historical Studies, Sept., 1947, p. 355, Marcus MacEnery (the pen name of Mr. John Garvin) says of this Sligo sept: "O'Donovan says Ó Dobhailén is now Devlin, without the O'. In fact it is now Dolan, with or without the O'." Such may be the case, and if so Roderick O'Flaherty, who in his Ogygia refers to the O'Develins of Sligo, was the originator of a natural error, which was continued by John O'Donovan and other translators of the annals, since both anglicized surnames had the same form in Irish.

NOTES TO APPENDIX II

1) In his Ogygia, the seventeenth century antiquarian Roderick O'Flaherty states that the O'Devlins of Sligo were Desians, which ascription accords with their genealogy as given by Duaid MacFirbis.

On the other hand Owen Connellan, in his notes to The Annals of the Four Masters, p. 125, says that they belonged to the Hy Briuin, a clan of the Connachta descended from a brother of Niall of the Nine Hostages. It would appear that the genealogy of Duaid MacFirbis is correct and that Connellan made an error in this case. For genealogy of Desians see John O'Hart, Irish Pedigrees, Vol. I, p. 359.

2) The following are some of the main events in the history of the Sligo O'Devlins as they appear in the annals.

In 1193 The Annals of Loch Cé record the death of Macbeth O'Devlin, Erenagh of Camma, in pilgrimage to Inis-Clothrann. (Macbeth was a Celtic name employed both in Ireland and in Scotland. An erenagh was a lay steward of church property. In the absence of any other reasonable ascription these erenaghs of Camma in Roscommon have been classed with the O'Devlins of Sligo.) The Annals of the Four Masters state that in 1231 died Kéleher O'Devlin, Erenagh of Camma, "a charitable, wise and prayerful man." (The position of erenagh was frequently hereditary in a family, as apparently in this case. This is the last reference to these erenaghs so far found.) In 1248 the death of Faghartach O'Devlin is recorded by The Annals of the Four Masters and by The Annals of Connacht. He is given the title King of Corann. In 1309 another Faghartach O'Devlin was killed in a battle between rival factions of the O'Connors. This event is recorded in The Annals of the Four Masters, The Annals of Loch Cé, The Annals of Ulster and The Annals of Connacht. In 1316 was killed Gilla-na-Naemh (meaning "Servant of Holy Men"), a son of Dal-redochair O'Devlin, the "man who bore the leopard", a reference to the standard with the arms of Felim O'Connor displayed on it. This happened at the time of Felim's crushing defeat by the Norman lords DeBurgh and DeBermingham, at Athenry. His death is recorded by The Annals of Clonmacnoise, The Annals of Connacht and The Annals of Loch Cé. After this date the annals speak of the O'Devlins of Tyrone, but say no more of those in Sligo.

3) In a footnote to An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster, George Hill says: "O'Devan - This surname and O'Devyn, another form of it, are probably contractions of O'Devlin, borne by a numerous connection of the Irish in Tyrone."

Mr. James E. McGuire is in agreement with the author that Hill is probably wrong in saying that the above mentioned surnames are corruptions of O'Devlin, but adds that Father Woulfe (Irish Names and Surnames, pp. 492, 494) says that there were in Tyrone, according to MacFirbis, an O'Damhain sept of Clan Owen stock who may have been the ancestors of some of those bearing such anglicized surnames, if they do not stem from the Clan Colla sept in Fermanagh, also mentioned by Father Woulfe.

4) In The Heffernans and Their Times (p. 32), Major Patrick Heffernan says: "The tenures of the Abbey lands of Ireland derived from the old Celtic monastic system, under which the lands were known as 'Termon' lands, and were vested in the families of lay scholars called 'Erenachs' who paid chief rent to the church, subject to which they held the lands in perpetuity."

APPENDIX III

DEVLINS IN LEINSTER

Although it is not possible, on the evidence available, to deny categorically the existence of Devlins at the present day who can claim descent from the Sligo sept, there is no positive indication of their survival with the use of that surname. There is, however, another hypothesis as to the origin of some Devlins that needs to be considered. Ernest Weekley, in Surnames, p. 22, makes the statement that Devlin is derived from the Irish form of Dublin (i.e. Dubhlinn, meaning "black water"). Weekley's book is almost entirely devoted to the derivation of English surnames, so that he cannot be regarded as an expert in the field of Irish etymology. In England surnames derived from places are common, but as Sir Robert E. Matheson says in his Special Report on Surnames in Ireland: "Surnames derived from a locality, which in England form a large class, are but rarely met with in this country and in most of these cases considerable doubt exists as to whether the surname has been acquired from the locality."

Weekley's hypothesis, at any rate as applying to the great majority of Devlins, seems untenable for various reasons. On account of the rarity of Irish surnames derived from localities it would naturally arouse our suspicions, even if no conflicting evidence were available. With very few exceptions, which will be considered later, those of this surname mentioned in books or documents as living prior to the seventeenth century used the prefix O', indicating descent from a person. The Dubliners certainly do not regard the Devlins as in any way associated historically with their city. On registering at a Dublin hotel the author remembers being asked if his family did not come originally from the North, since even at the present day, three and a half centuries after the extinction of the clan system and the dislocations caused by the Confiscations of the Ulster Plantation, about three-fourths of all the Devlins in Ireland are to be found living in those counties that border on Lough Neagh.

In spite, however, of such obvious objections to Weekley's theory, so far as it applies to any considerable proportion of those bearing this surname, he did have some factual foundation for his belief. Mr. Terence Rafferty, to whom the author is indebted for so much information contained in this volume, has discovered Develyns, Develins and Deuelynes residing on the Ormond Estates during the Middle Ages. These vast holdings of the Butlers included land in various counties, such as Meath, Tipperary, Kilkenny, and Wexford. In The Calendar of Ormond Deeds, the name of Adam Develin appears in Meath in 1276; that of John Develyn in Wexford in 1336, and Philip and Richard Deuelyne, father and son, signed a deed dated between 1350 and 1370, locality unspecified. (U and V, as well as I and Y, are interchangeable in these documents; all spellings apparently referring to the same family.) In The Annals of Dunbrody, under the date 1390, appears the name of John Develyn, Abbot of Dunbrody. As further evidence of the former existence of a family deriving its surname from the city of Dublin, is an entry in The Making of Ireland and Its Undoing, p. 178, by A. S. Green, which gives among

the names of other Irish scholars at the University of Oxford in 1455, that of Richard Develyn, White Monk, to which the author attaches the note, "i.e. of Dublin".

The Butler tenants on the Ormond Estates, during mediaeval times, were partly of Norman or English descent and in part of native Irish extraction, so that there is a possibility that these Leinster Develins were of Milesian origin, stemming either from the Tyrone or Sligo septs, but the existence, as shown in The Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, of early anglicized forms of Dublin such as Develyn and Develine¹ leads to the supposition that we may have here in fact an example of that rare phenomenon in Ireland, a surname derived from a place. The typically English Christian names preceding these surnames also make it unlikely that they are of Milesian origin.

The Richard Develyn of 1455 is the latest instance, so far discovered, of this mediaeval Leinster family. Dr. Arthur J. Devlin has searched The Testamentary Records of the Butler Families in Ireland, as well as many other Leinster books and documents, without finding any references to Develins, Develyns or Devlins in them prior to the seventeenth century. As with the Sligo sept, these Develins of Leinster, after an existence of a few centuries, seem to have vanished, so far as any records of their survival are concerned. If there are now in fact surviving descendants of this family, their surnames may have been altered to some such forms as Dillon, Dolan or Dowlin, in accordance with a tendency to eliminate the V sound from Devlin that has occurred in other cases. (See Appendix V for examples.)

The consistent tradition of those Devlins settled for many generations in Leinster is that they came originally from Ulster. Speaking of his branch of the family, Dr. Arthur J. Devlin says: "My father and grandfather were both born in Dublin. My great-grandfather was born in Co. Wicklow, where our branch had lived for more than two centuries. Our tradition is that we went there in the sixteenth century when the O'Neills of the period sent a military force to aid the O'Byrnes against forces from the Pale."

An article in The Wicklow People, Aug. 22, 1936, speaks of this expedition: "About 1598 a number of northern settlers came to Wicklow. It came about in this way. When in 1597 Feagh M'Hugh O'Byrne was slain by the English his son Phelim repaired to Hugh O'Neill in Ulster to seek his aid. O'Neill furnished him with a body of troops under O'Moore, a nobleman of Leinster. The northern soldiers fought long and valiantly in Wicklow and the surrounding counties, and many of them married and settled down among the hills, and today such typical northern names as O'Doherty, M'Davett, O'Neill, etc., are plentiful, particularly in the districts of Greenane and Ballinacor." In the issue of the same paper for July 15, 1939, it is said that about three hundred soldiers from the north accompanied Phelim M'Hugh to Wicklow. Philip O'Sullivan Beare, in Ireland Under Elizabeth, pp. 96-97, also gives an account of this expedition. Greenane and Ballinacor are a short distance (about eight miles) to the south-west of Glenealy, where the O'Devlins are said to have settled when they came to Wicklow. Dr. A. J. Devlin says that he learns from talking to old residents of Glenealy and its vicinity that the Devlins were always regarded there as people of alien stock, not natives of Wicklow, who had come to that section in bygone days from some other part of Ireland.

There is also another tradition among the Leinster Devlins which, while agreeing with the one in Dr. Devlin's family that the Devlins came from Ulster to Wicklow in the last decade of the sixteenth century, gives a different reason for their presence in that county. In the manuscript of the Rev. Brother Luke Cullen, The Life and Sufferings of Ann Devlin, written in 1857, now in the possession of the Very Rev. Canon Myles V. Ronan, but not yet published, it is stated: "Tradition informs us that an O'Devlin was one of the confidential persons sent with communications concerning the escaped youths [i.e. Red Hugh O'Donnell and Art O'Neill, at the time of their escape from Dublin Castle in 1591] whilst recovering with the O'Byrnes in Fannanering." Cullen also says that "This O'Devlin was afterwards persecuted for his fidelity to his Chief and so left his own country, settling at Glenealy, near Wicklow, under the protection of O'Byrne of Ballicksinnan. Such is said to be the first coming of the O'Devlins to the County Wicklow." Dr. A. J. Devlin believes that Ballicksinnan is probably a corruption of Ballymacsimon, the name of a townland in Glenealy parish, Co. Wicklow, where the Devlins lived.

In confirmation of this last tradition there are in Glenealy Old Churchyard gravestones of Devlins, Develans, Develins, Develyns and Develens, the oldest of which that is now decipherable bearing the date 1726. Dr. Arthur J. Devlin says he believes that the Wicklow branch of the family originated in Glenealy, but he has been informed by residents that there are no Devlins living there now. While likely to be untrustworthy as to details, family traditions generally have a foundation in fact, and both of those mentioned above agree that the Devlins arrived in Wicklow from Ulster shortly before the year 1600. The funeral custom in the family of Dr. A. J. Devlin, that the male head of the house should have six horses attached to his hearse, is also a strong indication of a Milesian origin for his branch of the Devlins. In its essentials this custom may long antedate the extinction of the clan system.

NOTES TO APPENDIX III

1) According to Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall, in Ireland, Its Scenery, Character, etc., (Vol. II, p. 175), Devlin was the pronunciation of Dublin in Wicklow during the 40's of the last century. In The Dublin Penny Journal of Nov. 24, 1832, it is said that the pronunciation of Dublin in Fingall at that time was Divilin. In Campion's account of the murder of Shane O'Neill, Dublin Castle is called the Castle of Divilin. (Historie of Ireland by Edmund Campion.)

APPENDIX IV

THE WICKLOW DEVLINS - A REBEL FAMILY

(1798-1803)

Few families in Ireland can have suffered more in the Nationalist cause during the Rebellions of 1798 and of 1803 than the Wicklow Devlins. At the outbreak of the "troubles" they were farmers, in comfortable circumstances. The failure of the rebellions resulted in long years of imprisonment and subsequent impoverishment for most of them, and transportation or death for others. A large part of their history is contained in the manuscript of the Rev. Brother Luke Cullen, The Life and Sufferings of Ann Devlin, unfortunately not yet published.¹

Ann's father, Brien Devlin, was the youngest of four brothers, the others being Patrick, Henry and Hugh.² Brien was a farmer on the lands of Croney Beag, in the parish of Rathdrum, County Wicklow, in the vicinity of that Vale of Avoca whose beauties have been sung by Thomas Moore, and not far from Glenealy, where the Tyrone ancestors of the Wicklow Devlins are said to have settled in the sixteenth century. Winifred, Brien Devlin's wife, was the daughter of Charles Byrne of Cullentra, near Glendalough, a descendant of the sept which at one time had held dominion over a large part of Wicklow. There were seven children by this marriage, of which Ann, born in 1781, was the second. Through the Byrnes the Devlins were related to Michael Dwyer, audacious captain of Wicklow outlaws, and to his second in command, Hugh Byrne, the nephew of Winifred Devlin. On the other side of the family was Arthur Devlin, son of Brien's brother Patrick. Arthur is said by Brother Cullen to have been the most loved and trusted of Emmet's lieutenants by their chief. Another Arthur Devlin, nephew of Brien, was also a participant in the rebellions. This Arthur was the great-grandfather of Dr. Arthur J. Devlin, and son of Henry Devlin, who lived near the lower Meeting of the Waters. Concerning the fourth brother, Hugh, there is no information available as to whether he left descendants, but there is a family tradition among the Wicklow Devlins, confirmed by Cullen in one of his records, that a kinsman, Hugh Devlin, was shot by the yeomanry in 1798.³

An account of the Rebellions of 1798 and 1803 may be found in many books devoted to this subject, some of which are included in the bibliography at the end of this volume, but even to sketch in the background of that period would require too much space in a study of this kind. During those years a desperate and hopeless struggle was maintained by bands of patriots in the Wicklow mountains against the overwhelming might of an alien government. The immediate results were apparently utter failure, but the tradition of resistance to foreign rule was preserved, at the cost of ruin or death for the participants, and handed on to descendants of these martyrs in the Nationalist cause, furnishing inspiration for those who, in the twentieth century, established the Irish Republic on foundations laid by their ancestors.

Brien Devlin is described as a man of "peaceable demeanour; exemplary and punctual in the discharge of his social and religious duties,"

and his wife Winifred as "a cautious, high-minded and virtuous woman." Their close kinship with prominent leaders of the Wicklow insurgents, however, brought immediate disaster to the Devlins on the outbreak of the 1798 Rebellion. Accused of giving aid to the outlaws, Brien Devlin was imprisoned and remained in jail nearly two and a half years without being brought to trial. On his release, after the collapse of the Rebellion of 1798, Brien resolved to leave Wicklow, the scene of his misfortunes, and moved with his family to Rathfarnham, near Dublin, where he engaged in dairying. Far from bettering his fortunes, this move brought his family into contact with Robert Emmet, leader of the Rebellion of 1803, whose abortive uprising brought further imprisonment, long sufferings and financial ruin to the Devlins.

In the spring of 1803, Brien's nephew, Arthur Devlin, son of his brother Patrick, who had eluded capture following rebel activities in 1798 by enlisting in the British army, arrived at the house in Rathfarnham disguised as a sailor, after his desertion from the very force that was trying to apprehend him. Arthur immediately interested his kinsmen in the cause of Robert Emmet, who was then planning his revolt of that year. Emmet was looking for a trustworthy housekeeper who must be "one in whom he could place implicit confidence". Arthur Devlin told him that he was sure his uncle would allow one of his daughters to take the position, and assured Emmet that "he could safely place a thousand lives in her hands." Ann, who was then a young woman of twenty-three, was chosen for the post. Brien had some furniture sent with her, and a cow, a cart and a horse, in order to give an appearance of business to Emmet's house in Butterfield Lane, and to disguise the activities that were being conducted there. Brother Luke Cullen was assured by Ann Devlin that she never received any remuneration from Robert Emmet and that none was ever contemplated by either party to the transaction, her services in this desperate venture being contributed solely for the sake of the cause in which her brother Art and her cousin Arthur were so deeply engaged. Mrs. James Hope, the wife of another leader in the Rebellion, was also introduced into the house to help Ann in her work.

The failure of the 1803 Rebellion and the tragic end of Robert Emmet are matters of history. We are here primarily concerned with the fate of the Devlins. Immediately after the collapse of the uprising, the military were sent to Emmet's house in Butterfield Lane, where they found Ann Devlin and her younger sister. Ann had destroyed all incriminating papers, so the soldiers, after a fruitless search, resorted to torture in order to force the sisters to give evidence against Emmet and his associates. Ann was the principal object of their violence. She was jabbed with a bayonet, receiving a severe wound in her breast, and was "half-hanged to the shafts of her father's cart," but she steadfastly refused to give any testimony, nor in spite of long imprisonment, threats, solitary confinement, and attempts at bribery, could Ann Devlin or any of her family be induced to give any information whatever concerning the participants in Emmet's Rebellion.

The whole Devlin family, including father and mother, four daughters and three sons, were imprisoned, as well as Brien's nephew Arthur, who was later transported for life to Australia. After two years in prison Ann's brother James, a child of nine or ten years, died of jail fever. Ann herself contracted erysipelas and her constitution was so shattered that

she never regained her health. The family were moved from prison to prison. At one time Brien Devlin was in New Kilmainham, Ann was in Old Kilmainham and Art was in the Provost Prison. During Christmas-tide of 1803 twenty-one of the family and its relatives were imprisoned in Kilmainham jail alone. On Pitt's death, the new cabinet in England authorized the release of most of the "state prisoners", as those who had taken part in the rebellions were called, but Ann, now confined to Dublin Castle, and her brother Art, remained in prison. Brien Devlin had been already released, after a total stay of five years in various prisons. Ann is said to have remarked at this time that if they were known as the "Rebel Family", they had at least paid a good price for the name. Finally in 1806 Ann and her brother Art were discharged from prison. Financially the family were ruined and the health of Ann's mother, also that of a sister and one of her brothers, were so impaired as a result of imprisonment that they all died within the space of a few years. Ann never fully recovered from the sickness that she had contracted, although she lived to the age of seventy. After the death of her husband, Campbell, her declining years were spent in a dire poverty that was somewhat alleviated by the kindness of Dr. R. R. Madden, who after her death had her remains exhumed from a pauper's grave and re-interred in the best part of Glasnevin cemetery.

NOTES TO APPENDIX IV

1) For the story, as here related, the author is indebted to the kindness of Dr. Arthur J. Devlin and to that of the Very Rev. Canon Myles V. Ronan, owner of the manuscript referred to in the text. According to Father Ronan, Brother Luke Cullen was a remarkable man. Born in Little Bray, Wicklow, (179-), he was poorly educated and, until he was forty-five, most of his life was spent at sea. He then entered the Carmelite Monastery at Clondalkin, Co. Dublin, and ultimately was engaged in teaching boys. He had a wonderful flair for collecting historical material from the actual persons concerned, or from their friends. He often wrote under difficulties in his school. Not much regard was paid by him to spelling or punctuation and he did not rewrite his manuscripts.

Mr. John Devlin of Munterevlin was given a portrait of Ann Devlin by Mr. Francis Joseph Bigger, the antiquarian, which had been entrusted to the latter by Dr. Addis Emmet for delivery to the Devlin in Ulster whom he regarded as most worthy to receive it, as a souvenir of his kinsman's faithful adherent. Mr. Terence Rafferty sent this portrait to the author for inspection, through the kindness of Mrs. Louis Roche, daughter of Mr. John Devlin. Ann appears in it as a woman in her early thirties, with coal black hair and black eyes, well dressed in a lace cap and shawl. Her face expresses spirit and determination much above the average.

Further information about Ann and Arthur Devlin, and their families, may be obtained from such books as 1798 in Wicklow, by the Rev. Luke Cullen; Irish Heroines, by Alice Milligan; Women of '98, by Mrs. Thomas Concannon; and Chapters in '98 History, by Joseph H. Fowler.

2) In The Life of Michael Dwyer, by Charles Dickson, it is said that during an examination in Dublin Castle on 30th of August, 1803, Winifred Devlin stated that "her husband's brother, Harry Devlin, lives near the town of Arklow, about two or three miles from it; he has three grown sons named Owen (in custody), Bryan and Arthur - that Paddy Devlin of Cronyburn was brother to her husband and that he had three or four daughters and three sons, named Arthur, Edward and Patrick - Patrick is in the army abroad, Edward is in custody, and she does not know where Arthur is. . ."

3) Rev. Luke Cullen, 1798 in Wicklow.

Dr. Arthur J. Devlin also found that an Ulster member of the family, James Devlin of Corkaskeagh, of the Clontibret branch of United Irishmen, was hanged by the authorities in Monaghan on March 24, 1798, as a result of his participation in the rebellion.

APPENDIX V

FORMS OF THE SURNAME

In the pedigrees of the Books of Ballymote and Lecan, and in the Genealogies of Mac Firbis and O'Clery, the name of the ancestor from whom the Devlins derived their surname is given variously as Dobholen, Dobhailen, Dobhoilen, Dobhuilen and Doibhilen; and in the pedigree of the O'Devlins of Sligo their eponymous ancestor appears as Dobhailen and Dobhailean.

Omitting the Ó or Ua (meaning "grandson of"), which always preceded it, the following are forms of the surname in Irish as they appear in the annals or in other books and documents: Dobhilen, Dobhailen, Dobhailean, Dobhailein, Dobhalen, Doibhilen, Doibhilín, Doibhelen, Doibhilein, Dhoibhilein, Dubhalen, Doibhlín, Doibhlen, Doibhlein, Dubhlein, Duibhlin, Dublein, Duiblein.¹ (Mr. Terence Rafferty says that the E, or sometimes the I, in the final syllable should properly take the acute accent, but that this was very often omitted by the scribes. Ein in the last syllable is a sign of the genitive form of the surname.)

The earliest document in which the surname of the Tyrone O'Devlins has yet been found is The Lament for O'Neill by the Clan Owen bard MacNamee, which dates from the latter half of the thirteenth century. In this poem the two-syllable form Ó Duibhlín is used. The earliest genealogy of the Men of Drumleene which contains the name of the O'Devlins' eponym is found in The Book of Ballymote, which dates from the late fourteenth century. This does not mean, however, that the two-syllable form in MacNamee's poem is older than the three-syllable form in the genealogies. None of the genealogies extend closer to the present day than to the O'Donnelly who was killed in 1177, consequently the name of the eponymous ancestor of the Tyrone O'Devlins must have been obtained from documents antedating the time of MacNamee.

It will be noticed that all forms of the name begin with a D; including that with a DH which is, with exceptions, the Irish form in an adjective or adjectival genitive qualifying a feminine nominative and dative singular, and a masculine genitive singular and nominative plural. All forms of the name end with an N, and the next to the last consonant is always an L. These are the invariables that distinguish the name, and have approximately the same pronunciations in Irish and in English.

In all except two examples BH appears before the L. BH has the phonetic value of V in Irish. (It also has at times a sound like the English W, a pronunciation that will be discussed later in this appendix.) The two apparent exceptions, where the L is preceded by a B, instead of by a BH, are the results of carelessness on the part of the scribe who wrote or copied this name. BH in Irish is either represented by the two consonants, or by the letter B surmounted by a dot. Sometimes the dot was overlooked in copying from one manuscript to another.

It appears, therefore, that the four consonants of Devlin are all present in the Irish form of the name, in their proper order, and except for the BH, with similar sounds to those which they have in English. The vowels, however, offer a greater difficulty. In fact if it were not for a

consideration of the almost incredible laxity shown by the Irish in the use of vowels and vowel combinations in former times, it might appear that these varying forms do not represent the same name. But aside from the fact that the context in which they appear proves that they do, consultation of authorities on Irish orthography will show that vowels and vowel combinations had, in past times, no such fixed phonetic values as in most European languages. There are also to be considered the different pronunciations given to the same vowels not only at different periods, but even at the present day in the several districts where Irish is still spoken. As will be seen, the same difficulties also occur, although to a lesser extent, in the case of consonants.

Mr. Terence Rafferty says: "All the variations in spelling which you give are the same name. It must have been pronounced in various ways, as *Dō-al-én*, *Dō-al-ín*, *Davilén*, *Dévilín*, *Develen*, *Divilin*, *Divlen*, etc., and that would account for the spelling. Middle and Early Irish orthography varied greatly in the spelling of proper names and variations in broad and slender, especially in O and Ol, are very common."

Dr. Eoin MacNeill says: "The form *Doibhilen*, in the Books of Ballymote and Lecan, and in the Genealogies of Duald MacFirbis, accords best with the modern pronunciation. *Dobhailen* or *Dobhuilen* would give a pronunciation like *Dolan*."

Dr. Séamus Ó Ceallaigh says that they spoke Irish in the parish of Derryloran, north of Cookstown, Tyrone, and not far from Munterevlin, during his youth. The name was then spelled *Ó Doibhleín* in Irish. The *Ó* was pronounced A, as was usual in Ulster surnames; the D represented a strong linguo-upper-dental D. The E was long back E (French grave E) and the L and N were both slightly palatalized.

Mr. Rafferty says that he knows a Patrick Devlin, living in the townland of Creggan, parish of Termonmaguirk, County Tyrone, who is a native Irish speaker. This Mr. Patrick Devlin is in his sixties, and Mr. Rafferty believes that he is probably the last native Irish speaker in Tyrone. Patrick Devlin pronounces his name in Irish as *O Dhoibhlen*. A-givlin, with the stress on 'giv', gives a rough idea of the sound. The initial D became DH (D aspirated) probably by analogy with what happens in the genitive case.

Apparently when the surname was anglicized in the seventeenth century it was customarily pronounced in three syllables, since the most usual English form at that time was *O'Develin*, or some three-syllable variant. In speaking of the form found in the genealogies Dr. Eoin MacNeill says: "The first two syllables must represent three syllables of an earlier date. If they represented two the name would be *Doibhlén*, that is the second syllable would lose its vowel, when another syllable followed." This shortening process has been continued. From an original four-syllable name, according to Dr. MacNeill, one syllable had been dropped by the time that the genealogies were composed, from the eighth century onwards, and in later times the middle syllable was also eliminated, producing the form *Devlin*.²

According to The Christian Brothers Grammar, p. 5, BH and L are liquids, and when in juxtaposition a short vowel sound is inserted between them, which may explain the persistence in Munterevlin of a three-syllable pronunciation for a two-syllable surname. In the home territory of the Devlins, although the surname is now spelled *Devlin*, it is still pronounced *Develin*, as it was written in the seventeenth century

and is still spelled by some members of the family. The latter, however, represent only a small proportion of those bearing this name. In his Special Report on Surnames in Ireland, Sir Robert E. Matheson says that in 1890 only about nine per cent of the family used any other form than Devlin.

The elimination of the prefix O' before the surname in its anglicized form had begun as early as the seventeenth century. Apparently no branch of the family uses it at the present day, the last instance of its employment so far encountered being in the case of the Rev. Hugh O'Devlin whom John O'Hart mentions as officiating at a wedding in 1787.³ It is possible that the use of the O' may be revived among the Devlins. It will certainly be used if the name is written in Irish, as with all Milesian names, even when the O' has been long discarded in its English form. In recent years many have assumed the Irish forms of their names in Ireland, as the traveler may see by observing the signs over shops and by consulting Irish directories, consequently it would not be surprising to find many members of the family reverting to the Irish form of their name in coming generations. In fact Dr. Arthur J. Devlin says that he has of late seen the Irish form of the surname, especially among public officials, but the only instance that he has so far found of the anglicized form with the O' is in a musical comedy. Playing with Bing Crosby and Barry Fitzgerald in "Top o' the Morning" is the actress Eileen Crowe, who takes the part of Biddy O'Devlin, a dealer in magic and spells. (The Irish Independent, Sept. 7, 1949.)⁴

From examples so far encountered, it would appear that the three-syllable form was almost universal in the seventeenth century, although there are a few instances of the shortened form during that era. Beginning with the eighteenth century, the two syllable form becomes more and more usual until at its end it becomes the ordinary mode of spelling. Apparently during the first two centuries after its anglicization alternate methods of spelling were used at different times by the same person, until a general standardization of the surname's orthography was effected.⁵

The multiplicity of spellings in Irish is paralleled by an even greater variety in English. Omitting the prefix O', the following are forms that have been found: Develin, DeVelin, Develyn, D'Evelyn, Develen, Develan, Develon, Devalon, De Valon, Devalin, Devilin, Deverlin, Devolen, Deavelin, Devellan, Devellen, Devellin, Divelin, Divellinn, Develing, Devilling, Deublinge, Duelin, Dowlin, Darlein, Doivlen, Doivlin, Delvyne, Delvin, Devling, Devlan, Devlen, Devlyn, and Devlin, the last being the standard form at the present day. (A few of the above listed spellings may be classed as doubtful or may be the result of typographical errors. For a detailed discussion of these various forms see later in this appendix.)

Of all three-syllable methods of spelling, the most common has been that of Develin, since the time when the surname was anglicized, after the breaking up of the clan system in the beginning of the seventeenth century, to the present day. In mediaeval times we have the Develins of Leinster and a Develin family in Galway, already discussed in previous appendices, neither of which appear to have been related to the Tyrone sept. Starting with the first anglicizations of the latter's surname, we find the last chief of the People of Devlin appearing in three documents as Brian O'Develin;⁶ Neale O'Develin was condemned to death at the Ulster assizes in 1614;⁷ a Donald O'Develin appears as a tenant at

Kannagoolan, in Armagh near Lough Neagh, in 1628;⁸ Patrick O'Develin is accused of drowning a group of Protestants, near the southern end of Lough Neagh, in 1641;⁹ a Cormac O'Develin is mentioned in 1647, and a Henry Develin in 1665.¹⁰ There is Lieutenant Cornelius Develin, also without the O', who was with Cromwell's army;¹¹ and two members of the family with a regiment in the Jacobite Army in Ireland (1689), Lieutenant Develin and Le Sieur Develin, ayde-major, both without the O'.¹²

When it is considered that the above list includes all members of the family so far encountered in records up to the end of the seventeenth century, with the exception of those in the text whose names have been translated from the Irish as O'Devlin, and a few using other forms of the surname, who are mentioned later in this appendix, it is apparent that the increase in numbers which has resulted in the present wide distribution of the Devlins did not gain much momentum before the eighteenth century.

In the first half of the eighteenth century the forms O'Develin and Develin are most usual in the country west of Lough Neagh. In a religious census of Loughinsholin barony, Derry, taken in the year 1740 (Genealogical Office Ms. 539) there are five Protestant householders named O'Develin; and in another religious census taken in 1766 (G.O. Ms. 536), an O'Develin appears as a Catholic in Artrea parish, Derry, three in Desertmartin parish, Derry, and another in Drumglass parish, Tyrone. All these, and the following were living on or in the vicinity of the original Devlin territory. In the census of 1740 one Develin, without the O', is listed among the Protestants. He lived in Toome barony, Antrim, north of Lough Neagh. But in the counties of Tyrone and Derry at the time of the census of 1766, there appear only three Develin Protestants and twenty-three Develin Catholics. (There were also among the Protestants in Derry (1740) a Devlahan,²⁵ which seems doubtful as a form of the surname, and an O'Devlin; while among the Catholics in the census of 1766 there were two Devilins, three O'Devlins, three Devlyns, and ten Devlins.) These data are, of course, not comprehensive. The first census includes only Protestant householders in and around the former Munterevlin. The second census is somewhat more satisfactory for the same area, as it includes both Protestants and Catholics. Two generalizations seem warranted with respect to the above statistics: 1) that the family in the Lough Neagh country during the first half of the eighteenth century were still preponderantly Catholic, and 2) that they continued to use by preference three-syllable forms of the surname, and usually O'Develin or Develin, at least up to 1766. At the present day in the same area Devlin is, it would appear, exclusively used, and we can see that it was already beginning to make headway as against other forms by the middle of the eighteenth century.

The form O'Develin has not been found in Irish records of the eighteenth century except as above stated in and around the former clan territory of the family, but Develin is fairly common. There is for instance the will of Laughlin Develin of Ballyticken, Co. Wicklow, probated in 1770, and those of Cormack Develin, Bailiff, and the Rev. Towin Develin were probated respectively in 1758 and 1776 in the diocese of Armagh (Ulster).¹³ We find Richard Develin as a participant in the Rebellion of 1798;¹⁴ and Arthur Devlin, who was also "out" in 1798 and again in 1803, is called Arthur Develin in the *Memoirs of Miles Byrne*. In Griffith's *Valuation* (1847-1864), there are several examples of

Develins as Irish landholders, in the middle of the last century; two in Co. Down and one apiece in Wicklow, Westmeath, Armagh and Cavan. In Dublin, Develin's Place was listed. The author has seen Develins in recent Irish directories both in Tyrone and Antrim. There is also a branch of the family in Scotland named Develin. In the Bodleian Library, Oxford, there is a book by a Sergeant-major Develin giving an account of his campaigns in India. The surname Develin also appears on tombstones in Glenealy Old Churchyard, Co. Wicklow,¹⁵ and the name of Mary Develin is given in a list of persons belonging to St. Thomas's parish in Dublin, who died of cholera in 1834.¹⁶

The earliest example of the surname in the United States that has yet been found, and the only instance of the employment of the prefix O' in this country, is furnished by Roger O'Develin, who settled in Chester County, Pennsylvania, near Philadelphia, in the middle of the eighteenth century. On the tax list he is described as a freeholder from 1747 to 1763. In 1747 his name appears as O'Devilin, as odevalin in 1749 and as odevilin in 1750. Apparently Roger admonished the county clerk about the liberties he was taking with a good Irish name, since for 1754, 1756 and 1757, it is spelled correctly as Roger O'Develin. In 1758, however, the clerk had a bad relapse when the name appears as Odiblin, with only a partial return to regularity in 1763, the next date of reference, when the name appears as Roger Odevelin.¹⁷ The descendants of Roger O'Develin still live in Chester County, with their name corrupted as Dowlin. They are well acquainted with their ancestry, however. By a strange chance the author's father, Mr. John F. Develin, acquired property in Chester County that had originally been in the possession of Roger O'Develin, whose descendants informed him of the coincidence, which was verified by a search of the title deeds. The change of the family name from O'Develin to Dowlin may have been caused by that tendency to eliminate the V sound in the surname which is discussed later in this appendix. There was at one time a small station in Chester County, on the Main Line of the Pennsylvania Railroad to the West, that was called Dowlin after this family.

It would appear that Develin is a more common method of spelling the surname in the United States than it is now in Ireland. Of the six members of the family who are mentioned in The Official Records of the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865, three are Develins.¹⁸ Probably the most distinguished Develin in the United States was John E. Develin, a New York lawyer and prominent Catholic layman who flourished in the middle of the nineteenth century.¹⁹ Mr. James E. McGuire says that a picture of the Develin mansion, "one of the many pretty estates once facing the Hudson", on 138th St., where Riverside Drive now runs, is given in Washington Heights, Manhattan, Its Eventful Past, by Reginald Pelham Bolton. Old residents have told Mr. McGuire that this mansion belonged to "Jimmy Develin", possibly a relative of the lawyer mentioned above. Philadelphia, however, and not New York, is represented at the present day with more Develins in its city directory than are to be found in that of any other of the large American cities, although this method of spelling the surname is employed in widely scattered areas. It is believed that all the Philadelphia Develins stem from a common ancestor living in the first half of the nineteenth century, but they are apparently unrelated to other American Develins except by such a distant connection as the surname attests. (See note 27 to Chapter III.)

Another three-syllable form of the name, less usual than Develin, is Develyn.²⁰ The use of Y in the final syllable has precedents in early anglicized forms, such as MacGeoghegan's reference to the O'Develyns in his translation of The Annals of Clonmacnoise, made in 1627; as a variant of the surname of the last chief of the People of Devlin at the period of the Confiscations, and also as used among the mediaeval Develyns or Develins of Leinster. Instances of the use of Develyn have been found in the Antrim section of an Irish directory and in a directory of New York city. Develyn appears, with the forms Develin and Develen, on tombstones in Glenealy Old Churchyard, County Wicklow.²¹

D'Evelyn is a form of the surname that Sir Robert E. Matheson says is peculiar to the counties of Down and Antrim, in Ireland.²² Instances of its use also occur in California, Illinois and Massachusetts. This form appears to be the result of a fad that was prevalent during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of giving a French form to Irish names. In his Irish Pedigrees, Vol. I, pp. 612, 856 and 857, John O'Hart gives as examples; Byron for Byrne, Montagu for MacTague and DuLaing for O'Dowling. S. Baring-Gould, in his Family Names and Their Story, p. 387, says that O'Ducy has become D'Arcy, O'Malley has been changed to DuMaillet and O'Melaville to Lavelle. For examples of French forms of English surnames see Chapter XIX of the same book. Another possible gallicization of the surname is DeVelin, of which there are five entries in the Chicago City Directory, 1928-1929.

The earliest occurrence of D'Evelyn so far found was discovered by Dr. Arthur J. Devlin in the Administrative Index of the Prerogative Office (1595-1810), where there appears the name of Francis D'Evelyn, Gent., Jervis St., Dublin, under the date 1775. This name is also mentioned in Beetham's Genealogical Abstracts, Vol. XVI, under the same date.

In Alumni Dubliniensis - A Register of Students, Graduates, Professors and Provosts of Trinity College of the University of Dublin, 1593-1860, are listed as graduates James Christopher D'Evelyn, B.A., 1846, M.A., 1852; and John William D'Evelyn, B.A., 1843, both born in the county of Armagh. Under both names is the notation that they have been altered from Devlin. The first named also appears in A Catalogue of Graduates in the University of Dublin, 1591-1868, with the alternate spellings of Devlin and D'Evelyn.²³

B. W. DeCourcy also gives Develon and Devellen as forms of this surname.²⁴ The former is the name of a wealthy Philadelphia manufacturing family, and Dr. Arthur J. Devlin has also found it among Dromore Wills. Dr. Devlin also reports the forms O'Develhan in the county of Londonderry for 1761,²⁵ which may be classed as doubtful, O'Devellin as a landowner in Armagh, in 1625,²⁶ and Divellin and Divilin, both in the seventeenth century.²⁷ The latter form was also used as a spelling for the Tyrone sept in 1608.²⁸ In Griffith's Valuation, the form Divellin appears in Mayo and Develan in Longford. Among marriage license bonds for Armagh appears the form Develing,²⁹ and the spelling Devilling is given in the records of the Newberry Library, Chicago, for a family living in North Carolina during the eighteenth century. Among the many spellings of the name of the last chief of Munterevlin appear those of O'Deavelin and O'Develyn.³⁰

Mrs. Curt Buddrus, of Muskogee, Oklahoma, has very kindly furnished an example of a mutation in the surname. Before moving to

Oklahoma in 1907, from Ohio and Indiana, her father spelled the name Devalon, with the accent on the first syllable, but in Oklahoma, for reasons of euphony, changed the spelling to DeValon, with the accent on the second syllable. Mrs. Buddrus says that the founder of her branch of the family was Francis Develon or Devalon, who came to Pennsylvania from Londonderry about 1750 and is said to have been a soldier in the American Revolution. He later moved to Ohio, to which state veterans of the Revolution were attracted by land grants made to them in that territory by the Congress of the Confederation. (D. E. Clark, The West in American History, Chapter XVII.) In confirmation of the above is the following extract from Vol. II of The Official Roster of Soldiers of the American Revolution who lived in Ohio, p. 121:

"Francis Devalon, Fayette Co., Ohio, name on list of soldiers of 1776, buried in Old Cemetery, Washington Court House, Fayette Co., Ohio, born 1723, died Sept. 22, 1819, aged 96. No further data found."

As to the spellings Devalon or Develon, Mrs. Buddrus says that in Ohio Tombstones (Vol. I, p. 27), in the Newberry Library, Chicago, under Washington Court House Cemetery, the names of Francis Develon, his wife, and several children, are all given with the spelling Develon. Mrs. Emma B. Hawley, Head of the Genealogical Department of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio, says that the name of William H. Devolen and members of his family appear among residents of the township in Fayette Co. in which Washington Court House is located. The above seems to be another spelling of the same surname. Mrs. Buddrus says that the homestead of her father's ancestors was situated on the five-mile road between Washington Court House and Bloomingburg, and this road was named for her family. She has seen it spelled variously in old records as Develon, Develin, Devlin and Devalon.

The natural tendency in Irish surnames has been towards an elimination of syllables, as shown in the case of Devlin, but in more recent times there is some indication of an artificial movement in the other direction, a return to archaic three-syllable forms by branches of the family that had been known for several generations as Devlin, or where two methods of spelling have been prevalent the longer form has been retained.³¹ This tendency is especially noticeable among Devlins in the United States.³²

Although the first anglicizations of the surname were generally in three syllables, Dr. Arthur J. Devlin has discovered a two-syllable example as early as the sixteenth century, in the case of Richard Devlin, Taylor, whose will was probated in 1595. Unfortunately his residence is not given.³³ Although rare, two-syllable forms also appear in the seventeenth century. Sir Toby Caulfield, in his report of 1610, speaks of the Devlins;³⁴ the lieutenant in Cromwell's army appears both as Develin and Devlin;³⁵ and in the Earl of Belmore's History of Two Ulster Manors, p. 316, mention is made of Donel O'Devlin, in the year 1663. Such two-syllable forms as the last two, however, at so early a date, may be modernizations, or in the last case a translation from the Irish in which the standard modern form is used, as in this volume where all Irish forms are given in English as O'Devlin for the purpose of uniformity.

In the eighteenth century we find some O'Devlins, but more Devlins. Francis O'Devlin, a friar, died in Tyrone in 1735;³⁶ the will of Daniel

O'Devlin, of County Londonderry, was probated in 1734;³⁷ and the Rev. Hugh O'Devlin officiated at a wedding in 1787, this being the latest use of the O' so far discovered.³⁸

Of Devlins in the eighteenth century there are numerous examples, of which only a few instances selected at random need be given, such as Mark Devlin, of Glencoe, County Tyrone;³⁹ and Bernard Devlin, of Kinamuck, Co. Londonderry, both in the middle of that century;⁴⁰ and Thomas Devlin, of Wilkinstown, Meath, at the end of it.⁴¹

There is also the archaic two-syllable form Doivlin or Doivlen, half Irish and half English, which is given by B. W. DeCourcy in his Genealogical History of the Milesian Families of Ireland. The Irish BH has been altered to V, its English equivalent, but the OI has not been changed to E, as should have been done for a correct representation of the pronunciation in English. DeCourcy does not say when or where these forms were used, and they have so far not been encountered outside the pages of his book.

Another irregular two-syllable form is Devlan, which appears among Marriage License Bonds in the Public Record Office, Dublin, for 1721-1845; also in The Philadelphia City Directory, 1935-36; and in the case of a gunner in the Union Navy during the American Civil War (General Register of the United States Navy and Marine Corps, 1782-1882). Devlen is a form listed in The Philadelphia City Directory, 1935-36; and Devlyn in The Cleveland City Directory, 1935. The form Devling appears in The O'Dwyers of Kilmanagh, by Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

Irregularities in two-syllable forms of the surname in English are comparatively rare. It is in the three-syllable forms that we find so great a variety; the probable reason for this distinction being that by the time Devlin had been established as the standard form, the family had become spelling conscious as a result of the introduction of dictionaries.

All the forms hitherto given have been derived from the pronunciation of the Irish BH like an English V. There was, however, also another pronunciation of BH in Irish which approximated that of an English W. There may, therefore, be a considerable number of families at the present day, whose names have been anglicized in the latter manner, that really stem from the same Tyrone sept as the Devlins. It would, however, be difficult, in many cases, to trace their ancestry, in the absence of individual family records.

An early example of this alternate anglicization of the name occurs on the map of 1603-1606, in John J. Marshall's Lough Neagh in Legend and History, where the surname is spelled O'Duelin; and in a passage from The Civil Survey of Ireland (1654-56), Vol. III, p. 264, under the heading barony of Dungannon, parish of Dissertagh, where the name of the last Chief of the People of Devlin appears as O Darlein. (See note 4 to Chapter III.)⁴²

This alternate pronunciation may also provide an explanation for the corruption of the surname of Roger O'Develin's descendants, in Chester County, Pennsylvania, to Dowlin; and for the family of the fifteenth century in Galway, mentioned in Appendix II, whose surname is given as either Develin or Dillon, the latter finally displacing the former. It is also possible that some descendants of the mediaeval Develins of Leinster, referred to in Appendix III, may now be disguised under such surnames as Dillon or Dowlin.

Sometimes by a careless transposition of the two middle consonants,

the surname is written O'Delvin or O'Delvyne in old documents. Delvin is the name of a very ancient barony, now held as a subsidiary title by the Nugents, Earls of Westmeath, and should not be confused with the Milesian surname of Devlin or O'Devlin.⁴³

Variations such as described for the surname Devlin are common to most Milesian names, as can be seen by examining some of the extraordinary examples recorded in books like John O'Hart's Irish Pedigrees, or Patrick Woulfe's Irish Names and Surnames. In past centuries spelling was largely a matter of caprice, as witness the many methods of spelling the English surname Shakespeare; and this was especially true when an effort was made to render into English an Irish surname, which was ordinarily undecipherable in Irish characters for an English landlord or his agent.⁴⁴ The latter, who were ordinarily ignorant of Irish, entered the names of tenants or laborers on their rolls as they happened to strike the ear, thus producing many variations for one Irish surname. Even in the original Irish, as we have seen, there was no uniformity either of spelling or pronunciation.⁴⁵

NOTES TO APPENDIX V

1) Since the sound of MH in Irish is equivalent to that of BH, the name could be spelled Doimhilen, instead of Doibhilen. In Irish MH is also represented by M with a dot superimposed, but this dot was sometimes carelessly omitted. The only example of this method of spelling occurs in Scots Mercenary Forces in Ireland, p. 47, by Gerard A. Hayes-McCoy, where the surname appears as O Doimleain (See note 65 to Chapter II).

2) An external influence may have had something to do with standardizing the surname as Devlin. Dubhlinn or Duibhlinn is not only the Irish form of Dublin but is also a fairly common place-name in Ireland. In The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places, p. 363, P. W. Joyce says: "Duibhlinn is sounded Duvlin or Divlin, and it was undoubtedly so pronounced down to a comparatively recent period by speakers of both English and Irish, for in old English writings, as well as on Danish coins, we find the name written Divlin, Dyflin, Dulin, etc., and even yet the Welsh call it Dulin. The present name has been formed by the restoration of the aspirated B. There are several places throughout Ireland called Duibhlinn, but the aspiration of the B is observed in all, and consequently not one of them has taken the anglicized form Dublin. Devlin is the name of eight townlands in Donegal, Mayo, Monaghan. . ." (See also Edmund Hogan, Onomasticon Geodelicum, p. 372, and note 1 to Appendix III of this book.)

It is of course evident that the name Devlin is not derived from these townlands, since it was preceded by an O' in Ulster at the time when surnames were formed, which indicates descent from a person. It is possible, however, that a contributing cause to the almost universal adoption of a two-syllable form of the surname may be found in the existence of Devlin as a place-name. The elimination of the O' and the middle E may have been caused, at least in some instances, by an imitation of these place-names, which were so similar to the surname in appearance and pronunciation. Another reason for dropping the O' was because it so clearly identified its bearer with the Milesian race, which was in a

generally depressed condition. Such was the prejudice against native Irish names among the anglicized Irish that in early times there was a bylaw in Galway "that no O' or Mac strut or swagger" through the streets of that city. The people of Galway were especially prejudiced against the native Irish because they had been subjected to centuries of depredations by their turbulent neighbors, the "ferocious" O'Flahertys. (See Edmund Curtis, A History of Mediaeval Ireland, p. 413.)

Perhaps no other explanation for the shortening of the surname is needed than the natural tendency of the Irish language, which has already been referred to, but some mention of the Devlin townlands seemed advisable, in any case, on account of a possible false assumption that the surname was derived from them.

3) John O'Hart, Irish Pedigrees, Vol. I, p. 217.

4) The Rev. Patrick Woulfe, in his Irish Names and Surnames, gives the modern Irish for Devlin as Ó Dobhailean, but other modern forms of the surname are given by Dr. Ó Ceallaigh and by Mr. Rafferty in the first part of this appendix as being actually in use by Irish speakers in the home territory of the family (i.e. O Doibhlein and O Dhoibhlen). Of the forms found in the annals and genealogies, Dr. Eoin MacNeill says that O Doibhilen comes nearest to the English pronunciation.

5) Apparently this was the case in the author's branch of the family. Since the days of his great-grandfather the surname has been spelled Develin, but his grandfather said that in Ireland he understood that they had spelled it both Develin and Devlin.

6) The name of the last Chief appears as O'Develin in The Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, and also in The Patent Roll of James I (192 Pat. 8) and in Lodge's Ms. Records of Rolls (James I, 2, 42).

7) From Historical Notes of Old Belfast and Its Vicinity (p. 30 and note 256) by R. M. Young. From original record of The Ulster Roll of Gaol Delivery, 1613-1618: "Neale O'Develin, of Killoghter, yeoman, on the 20th of Novr., 1614, at Killelagh stole fifteen swine worth 2s. each, the property of Teige O'Hagane, gentleman. Guilty to be executed." This may be the yeoman of this name who appears in the pardon given to O'Hagan by the English in 1602. See note 9 to Chapter III.

8) George Hill, An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster, p. 561.

9) Mary Hickson, Ireland in the Seventeenth Century, Deposition No. 77.

10) In The Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, it is stated that on May 8, 1647, the Privy Council, consisting of Lords Dacre, Manchester, Lincoln and three others, ordered twenty pounds to be paid to Cormac O'Develin, which sum he had advanced to Major Ashley and Lt. Col. Huetson. No explanation is given as to the reasons for the loan, but since the Privy Council was at this time hostile to Charles I it seems probable that Cormac O'Develin was on the side of the Parliamentarians. The lender may have been the same Cormac "Delvin" who owned land subsequently in the possession of Cornelius Develin, who is mentioned as a lieutenant in Cromwell's army and was later attainted by the Catholic Parliament of James II in 1689. Cormac O'Develin, if he is the same as the Cormac Delvin referred to, may therefore have been the father of Cornelius Develin. In 1647 the Royalists and Parliamentarians were fighting in Ireland. In the previous year Owen Roe O'Neill had defeated the Parliamentarians at Benburb, on the Blackwater, about twenty miles south of the O'Devlins' former territory. It is probable,

considering their religion and affiliations, that the O'Devlins were well represented in O'Neill's army, but it is surprising to find any of them in the opposing camp. See notes 11 and 43 to this appendix.

According to the 26th Report of the Deputy Keeper of Records, Ireland, a wedding license was issued to Henry Develin, residing in the diocese of Dublin, in 1665. In the same report for the same diocese, the form Develin occurs four times during the eighteenth century, and Develyn once. The doubtful form Devlene appears for the year 1594. From 1803 to 1850, in the 30th Report, there are five Develins and one Devilin. During the earlier period the form Devlin occurs only once, but six times in the 30th Report. It seems probable that these surnames were derived from the Wicklow branch of the family, since Wicklow was included in the diocese of Dublin, and the same or similar forms of the name appear on gravestones in the old cemetery of Glenealy in that county, but there is also the possibility that some of them may represent descendants of the mediaeval Develins mentioned in Appendix III.

11) This is the Cornelius Develin or Devlin, alternate spellings in two sources, who owned land in Mayne and was attainted as a follower of Cromwell by the Irish Parliament of James II in 1689. History of Kilsaran, etc., by Rev. James B. Leslie, pp. 41, 44, 45, 48; and The State of the Protestants of Ireland under the Late King James's Government, p. 5 of appendix. In Lodge's Ms. Records of the Rolls, Vol. I, Charles II, the same man appears as Cornelius Divilinn on p. 27 and as Divilin on p. 259. See note 14 to Chapter III and notes 10 and 43 to this appendix for further information about Cornelius Develin.

12) A Jacobite Narrative of the War in Ireland, 1688-1691; edited by John T. Gilbert.

13) The will of Laughlin Develin appears in Index, Administrative Bonds, Diocesan Wills, Dublin and Kildare; and the other two in the section for the diocese of Armagh.

14) From records in the author's family.

15) Journal of the Association for the Preservation of Memorials of the Dead in Ireland, Vol. VIII (1910-1912). The oldest date recorded on tombs of this family in this churchyard is 1726, although their burials there probably long antedated this time.

16) Same source as above, Vol. XII. Dr. A. J. Devlin says that there were 226 cases of cholera in that year for this parish.

17) From Chester County, Pennsylvania, Tax List N-R 1747-1763. (Collections of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania.) Royer O'Davlin also appears in a deed of Chester Co., dated 1779, probably another corruption of Roger O'Develin.

As a Christian name Roger has apparently not been unusual among the Devlins. Four of them named Roger appear in the Index to Administrative Bonds in the Public Record Office, Dublin.

Immediately following the record of Roger O'Develin appear other Milesian surnames. . . O Donaly, O Dannely, O Daniely, O Donel, O Donnold, O Donnoly, O Daniel, O Donnald, O Donald, etc. These appear to be corruptions of the two Ulster surnames O'Donnelly and O'Donnell, and indicate the presence of a group of Ulster Irishmen who settled in Chester Co. before the American Revolution. O'Neill also appears in deeds of Chester Co. during the eighteenth century.

18) Series II, Vol. VIII, pp. 549-552, etc.

19) See note 28 to Chapter III for further information about this lawyer.

20) In his Varieties and Synonymes of Surnames and Christian Names in Ireland, Sir Robert E. Matheson gives three forms of the surname: Devlin, Develin and D'Evelyn. The Rev. Patrick Woulfe, in Irish Names and Surnames, lists the forms O Deublinge, O Devline, O Devlin, Develin, Devlin and D'Evelyn. B. W. DeCourcy, in A Genealogical History of the Milesian Families of Ireland, includes the forms Devlin, Develin, Develon and Develen. Patrick Kelly, in Irish Family Names, lists only Devlin and Develin.

For forms of surname in American City Directories see note 27 to Chapter III.

21) In source cited in note 15. See note 26 for source of O'Develyn as form of last chief's name. The Very Rev. Canon Myles V. Ronan gives five forms of the surname on gravestones in Glenealy Old Churchyard (i.e. Devlin, Develan, Develen, Develin and Develyn) perhaps a record among Irish inscriptions for one family in the same graveyard.

22) In source cited in note 20.

23) There may have been at one time a surname D'Evelyn in England, and Devlins who changed their surname to D'Evelyn may very well have believed that they were simply returning to the original form of their name. The initial syllable of the surname has a deceptive resemblance to the French particule nobiliaire. When we consider the extraordinary variety of opinions among experts as to the origin of Devlin, as shown in note 72 to Chapter I, it is not at all strange that amateurs should have been misled in this manner. According to The Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XVIII, the English family Evelyn, of which the noted diarist was a member, claim to derive their name from Evelyn in Normandy. If this is in fact the correct derivation, apparently the original form of this surname would have been D'Evelyn.

Speaking of the gallicization of Irish names, in Old Irish Links with France, Richard Hayes says that in France Walsh has been changed to Ouailch or Wealh; Dillon to D'Illon; Hickey to Hirqui; Kirwan to Quirouan; Donovan to Gunevant; Shee to Chaix; O'Dwyer to Andoyer; Ryan to Rion; O'Brien to Aubrion, etc.

24) See note 20 to this appendix.

25) O'Develhan also appears in Dromore Wills, in Index to Irish Wills, by W. P. W. Phillimore.

O'Develhan may possibly be derived from a sept of the Descendants of Binnech (Cenél mBinnig), a division of the Clan Owen already mentioned as located in that portion of the ancient Tyrone (Tír Eoghain) now included in the county of Londonderry. Dr. Séamus Ó Ceallaigh says that one of their septs, Ó Doibhleacháin (pronounced approximately O Divlahan), may in some instances have anglicized their surname as O'Devlin and have thus accounted for some of the Devlins living north of the Ballinderry River. If such is the case, this sept and the O'Devlins of Munterevlin have become so assimilated by proximity and subsequent intermarriage in the course of the last three centuries as to be now indistinguishable. Although such a possible intrusion of alien blood in a Milesian family must always be reckoned with, the concentration of Londonderry Devlins in those southern parishes which straddle the Ballinderry could reasonably be accounted for either by an actual extension of the clan territory of Munterevlin to the north of that river, or by a natural overflow of Devlins from their former property on its southern bank. In fact the whole county of Londonderry apparently

contains no more Devlins at the present day than could be expected as the result of mere dispersion, since Griffith's Valuation indicates that there were about as many Devlins during the nineteenth century in the county of Armagh, to the southeast of Munterevlin, and likewise in the counties of Antrim and Down, on the other side of Lough Neagh, as there were at that time in Londonderry.

It so happens that we have John O'Donovan's opinion on this subject, as given in an Ordnance Survey Letter previously quoted, in which he not only states that the Devlins living in southern Londonderry during his time were descended from the O'Devlins of Munterevlin, but also cites them as a specific example of the general rule that only the richer landowning septs ordinarily survived those massacres and famines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that had led to the extinction of so many Milesian families. Since O'Donovan's rule appears to conform to the facts as we know them, the chances for survival during the bloody years of the persecutions would seem to have been better for the former owners of Munterevlin than for an obscure sept of a Clan Owen branch like the Descendants of Binnech that had already declined greatly in power and wealth before the days of the Confiscations. (For discussion of O'Donovan's statement as to the Londonderry Devlins see Chapter. III, and for their distribution in that county refer to Appendix VII.) In his Irish Names and Surnames, the Rev. Patrick Woulfe gives some anglicizations on pp. 515-516 for this Londonderry sept, but none that would suggest an alteration to produce Devlin. The form O'Develhan in Londonderry, however, does lend weight to Dr. Ó Ceallaigh's suggestion, and a transposition from O'Develhan to O'Devlin and finally to Devlin might occur.

26) In the Inquisitionum in Officiis Cancellariae Hiberniae Reportorum, Vol. II, Donald O Devellin appears as the owner of one ballybo in Derryland, County Armagh, in 1625. The form Divellin also appears in the Philadelphia Telephone Directory of 1944.

27) See note 11 to this appendix.

28) George Hill, An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster, p. 161.

29) Marriage License Bonds (1721-1845), Public Record Office, Dublin.

30) In The Ulster Plantation Papers, 1608-1613, his name appears as O'Deavelin, and in the Inquisitionum, mentioned above, as O'Develyn.

31) Some Irish scholars apparently consider Develin as the logical anglicization of the Irish name. In B. MacCarthy's notes to The Annals of Ulster, Vol. III, p. 582, the English form of the territory of the O'Devlins appears as Muintir-Evelin and the surname as O'Develin. In an appendix to his edition of The Annals of the Four Masters, Vol. VI, p. 1427, John O'Donovan gives Develin as the anglicized form of Doibhilen, the sept's eponymous ancestor. In The Fate and Fortunes of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, p. 283, the Rev. C. P. Meehan speaks of the O'Develins; and the seventeenth century antiquarian Roderick O'Flaherty, in his Ogygia, gives O'Develin as the English form for the Sligo sept of Ó Dobhailén.

32) Outside of Ireland there is an English place-name, and also a French surname, the former identical with, and the latter similar to, the Irish surname Develin. One of the towers in The Tower of London is known as the Develin Tower, concerning which a Beefeater stationed there informed the author that, in his opinion, it was so called as "being

such a devil of a place in which to be imprisoned". In contradiction to this amateur etymologist, it appears from Arthur Poyser's The Tower of London, p. 135, that the Develin Tower, so called as early as the sixteenth century, probably owes its name to a corruption of Robert the Devil's Tower.

At Tours, in France, the author has seen the surname Devilaine, which is obviously "de" (from) and Vilaine, a Breton place-name that appears in the Department of Ille et Vilaine.

33) In Administrative Index of the Prerogative Office (1595-1810). Wills were included in this index when the decedent left property exceeding the value of five pounds in more than one diocese, and the will had to be lodged in the court of the Archbishop of Armagh. The name is unique for that period in having neither an O' nor a middle vowel.

34) See Caulfield's report at the end of Chapter II.

35) See note 11 to this appendix.

36) James Ware, The Writers of Ireland.

37) Indexes to Irish Wills, by W. P. Phillimore.

38) John O'Hart, Irish Pedigrees, Vol. I, p. 217.

39) Same source as preceding, Vol. I, p. 190.

40) Same reference as in note 37 above.

41) Index to the Prerogative Wills of Ireland, 1536-1810.

In addition to his own investigations, Dr. A. J. Devlin has had a thorough search made of the records used by the Genealogical Office, in Dublin Castle, for forms of the surname Devlin. The genealogical student is referred to this office for many records not listed in the bibliography at the end of this volume, but which have been examined for the purposes of this study.

42) The name of the last Chief appears in his pardon, dated 1601, as O Deublinge. The B in this form may stand for the Irish B with a dot over it, and in that case would have been pronounced like V.

In the Directory of 1835, of Lowell, Massachusetts, in addition to the usual Devlins, there appears the name John Deverlin, possibly a form of Develin, if not a typographical error.

43) For the title of Baron Delvin see Burke's Peerage under Earls of Westmeath. Occasionally the middle syllables are interchanged in reverse fashion, as when The Catholic Encyclopaedia refers to one of the Nugents as Lord Devlin. The same mistake occurs in B. MacCarthy's notes to The Annals of Ulster, Vol. IV, p. 70, where the Delvinians are referred to as the Devlinians, in this case doubtless a typographical error.

In The Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, under 1610, the O'Devlin country is given as Munterdelvin. In 1664 Cormac Delvin had the same property which in 1666-67 was in the possession of Cornelius Develin. See notes 19 and 11 to this appendix.

44) In A Short Study of a Transplanted Family in the Seventeenth Century, E. MacLysaght says: "Prior to the eighteenth century people were notoriously indifferent to the spelling of English. . . even of their own names. "Dr. Arthur J. Devlin says that this author notes thirty-eight variations in spelling the surname MacLysaght, many of these obviously owing to the unfamiliarity of law clerks and copyists with Irish names, for the name even appears in three distinct forms in the same document.

45) John O'Donovan says that certain Christian names tend to recur

generation after generation in Irish families. Dr. Arthur J. Devlin finds that favorite names among the Devlins have been: Brian, Hugh, Francis, John, Mark, Arthur, Christopher, Joseph and Terence. A similar recurrence of certain Christian names among the O'Byrnes is described in an article, "The Clan O'Byrne", in The Wicklow People, Mar.16, 1940.

Dr. Arthur J. Devlin also notes a hereditary tendency towards shortness of stature among the Devlins of whom he has knowledge. It so happens that the first of the author's Develin ancestors who came to America was a small man but his descendants have varied in size. With the information available it is hardly possible to make any generalization on the subject.

APPENDIX VI

MUNTEREVLIN

(The author is indebted to Mr. H. L. Glasgow for the list of townlands in the electoral division of Munterevlin before the redistricting in 1923; to Dr. Séamus Ó Ceallaigh for the townlands in Revelin Yetra and Revelin Outra, as shown on the map of 1610; and to Dr. Arthur J. Devlin for Devlin landholders as given in Griffith's Valuation. The figures for acreage are in round numbers and do not include additional rods and perches. For further information about the townlands in the clan territory of Munterevlin see George Hill, An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster, Chapter VI.)

TOWNLANDS IN THE ELECTORAL DIVISION OF MUNTEREVLIN

	Parish	Devlin Landholders (1860)
Aneterbeg	Arboe	1
Anetermore	"	3
Annaghmore	"	10
Ardean	"	9
Quin	"	4
Cluntoe	"	
Richardson		
Eglish		
Derrycrin	Ballinderry	1
Conyngham		3
Stewart		9
Drumenny	Arboe	
Conyngham		
Farsnagh	"	6
Killycanavan (Upper)	"	1
Killycanavan (Lower)	"	1
Killygonlan	"	12
Kilmascally	"	1
Kinrush	"	32
Kinturk	"	
Lanaglug	Ballinderry	1
Lurgyroe	Arboe	8
Mullaghwotra	"	
Mullan (Upper)	Ballinderry	
Mullan (Lower)	"	
Mullanahoe (or Mullinahoe)	Arboe	18
Sessia	"	4
The Gort	Ballinderry	

TOWNLANDS IN REVELIN YETRA

	Parish	Devlin Landholders (1860)	Acres
Aghacolumb	Arboe	2	294
Aghaveagh	Tamlaght		375
Ballyblagh	Ballyclog		205
Ballymaguire	Arboe		264
Ballynafeagh	"		81
Ballynargan	"		204
Ballyveeney	Ballyclog	1	360
Brookend	Arboe		503
Coagh	Tamlaght	1	616
Dromore	Arboe	2	352
Drumconway	Tamlaght		539
Elagh	Arboe	2	329
Feagh	"		58
Gortigal	"		217
Killymenagh	"	2	256
Killywoolaghan	"		662
Kilsally	Ballyclog		373
Lanaglug	Ballinderry	1	348
Mullaghllass	Arboe		245
Mullaghtironey	Tamlaght		254
Mullanahoe	Arboe	18	321
Stuart Hall	"		143
Tamlaghtmore	"	1	532
Tamnavally	"	2	249
Urbal	Tamlaght		239
			<hr/> 8019

TOWNLANDS IN REVELIN OUTRA

Aghalarg	Donaghhenry		172
Aghalarg Bog	"		6
Back Lower	Ballyclog	1	502
Back Upper	"	9	281
Ballygittle	Clonoe	1	169
Ballywholan	Ballyclog	1	387
Bellmount	"		202
Carnan	Arboe	1	468
Castle Farm	Donaghhenry	1	205
Drumagullion	"	2	257
Drumard	Arboe	3	196
Drumgormal	Donaghhenry	1	235
Drumhubbert	Arboe	3	100
Drumkern	Ballyclog		295
Eary Lower	Arboe		102
Eary Upper	Ballyclog		133
Gortatray	Donaghhenry		169

	Parish	Devlin Landholders (1860)	Acres
Gortatray Bog	Donaghhenry	1	8
Gortnaglogh	Clonoe	1	182
Gortnagwyg	Arboe		128
Killycolpy	"		751
Kilcoony	Ballyclog		80
Killymurphy	Donaghhenry		152
Letterclery	"		141
Linnyglass	Ballyclog		102
Lisneight	Donaghhenry		49
Mullantain	"		93
Oghill	Ballyclog		164
Outlands of Galvally	Donaghhenry		87
Rouskyro	"		67
Tamnylennan	"		144
Urbalreagh	"		57
			<u>6084</u>

APPENDIX VII

DEVLIN LANDHOLDERS IN IRELAND 1847-1864

(Dr. Arthur J. Devlin has compiled the following statistics from The General Valuation of Ireland (1847-1864), by Sir Richard Griffith, Bart. The figures refer to the parishes of Tyrone, Londonderry and Donegal. For other counties the totals only are given. Both freeholders and leaseholders are included. Other forms of the surname than Devlin are specified.)

COUNTY OF TYRONE (392 Devlins)

Arboe	144	Donaghedy	3
Ardstraw	6	Donaghhenry	8
Artrea	4	Donaghmore	25
Ballinderry	4	Drumragh	3
Ballyclog	13	Kildress	20
Camus	2	Killeeshil	3
Cappagh	12	Killyman	4
Clagherny	2	Lissan	3
Clonfeacle	4	Lower Bodoney	44
Clonoe	32	Tamlaght	4
Derryloran	15	Termonmaguirk	11
Desertcreat	2	Tullyniskan	14
Donacavey	2	Upper Bodoney	8

COUNTY OF ARMAGH (98 Devlins and 1 Develin)

COUNTY OF LONDONDERRY (98 Devlins)

Aghadowey	1	Desertlyn	11
Artrea	17	Desertmartin	7
Ballinderry	4	Drumachose	5
Ballynascreen	9	Lilcronaghan	1
Ballyscullion	5	Lissan	6
Balteagh	4	Maghera	8
Banagher	1	Magherafelt	12
Coleraine	2	Tamlaght	3
Derryloran	2		

COUNTY OF DONEGAL (79 Devlins)

Clonahorky	1	Donegal	13
Clonca	2	Fahan Lower	3
Clondermot	1	Inver	1
Clonmany	45	Moville Upper	1
Convoy	1	Templemore	6
Cumber Lower	2	Termonbacca	1
Donagh	2		

COUNTY OF DOWN (60 Devlins and 2 Develins)
 COUNTY OF ANTRIM (59 Devlins)
 COUNTY OF MONAGHAN (17 Devlins)
 COUNTY OF CAVAN (8 Devlins and 1 Develin)
 COUNTY OF FERMANAGH (4 Devlins)
 COUNTY OF LOUTH (13 Devlins)
 COUNTY OF MEATH (12 Devlins)
 COUNTY OF DUBLIN (8 Devlins)
 CITY OF DUBLIN (6 Devlins)
 COUNTY OF WICKLOW (8 Devlins and 1 Develin)
 COUNTY OF WEXFORD (4 Devlins)
 COUNTY OF KINGS (now Offaly) (2 Devlins)
 COUNTY OF LONGFORD (1 Devlin and 7 Develans)
 COUNTY OF WESTMEATH (1 Develin)
 COUNTY OF CARLOW (1 Devlin)
 COUNTY OF KILKENNY (1 Devlin)
 COUNTY OF QUEENS (now Leix) (No Devlins)
 COUNTY OF KILDARE "
 COUNTY OF LEITRIM (2 Devlins)
 COUNTY OF MAYO (2 Devlins and 2 Divellins)
 COUNTY OF GALWAY (1 Devlin)
 COUNTY OF ROSCOMMON (No Devlins)
 COUNTY OF SLIGO "
 COUNTY OF CLARE "
 COUNTY OF LIMERICK "
 COUNTY OF TIPPERARY "
 COUNTY OF KERRY "
 COUNTY OF CORK "
 COUNTY OF WATERFORD "

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams, Henry, Mont St. Michel and Chartres, Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1936.
- Adams, William F., Ireland and Irish Immigration to the New World from 1815 to the Famine, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932.
- Almanach de Gotha, Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1932.
- Alumni Dubliniensis, A Register of Students, Graduates, Professors and Provosts of Trinity College of the University of Dublin (1593-1860).
- American Irish Historical Society, Journal of the, New York: Published by the Society.
- Analecta Hibernica (including reports of the Irish Manuscripts Commission) Dublin: The Stationery Office, No. 1 in 1930.
- Annals of Clonmacnoise, The, Dublin: University Press, 1856.
- Annals of Connacht, The, (A.D. 1224-1544), edited by A. Martin Freeman, Dublin: The Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies, 1944.
- Annals of Dunbrody, The (in the History of County Wexford, by Philip Herbert Stoke, London: Elliot Stock, 1900).
- Annals of Ireland by the Four Masters, The, edited by John O'Donovan, Dublin: Huges, Smith and Co., 1856, 7 vols.
- Annals of Ireland by the Four Masters, The, edited by Owen Connellan, with a map by Philip MacDermott, Dublin: Bryan Geraghty, 1846, 1 vol.
- Annals of Loch Cé, The, edited by W. M. Hennessy, London: Longmans and Co., 1871, 2 vols.
- Annals of Tighernach, The, (Revue Celtique, Vol. 16 (1895), Vol. 17 (1896), Vol. 18 (1897)).
- Annals of Ulster, The, edited by B. MacCarthy, Dublin: H. M. Stationers' Office, 1887, 4 vols.
- Archdall's Monasticon Hibernicum, edited by the Rt. Rev. Patrick F. Moran, Bishop of Ossory, Dublin: W. B. Kelly, 1873.
- Archivium Hibernicum, (published by the Record Society, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth.)
- Bagenal, Philip, The American Irish and Their Influence in Irish Politics, Boston: Roberts Bros., 1882.
- Bagwell, Richard, Ireland under the Tudors, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1885, 2 vols.
- Bagwell, Richard, Ireland under the Stuarts, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1909, 2 vols.
- Baltimore Directory, The, Washington, D.C.: R. L. Polk and Co., 1936.
- Baring-Gould, S., Family Names and Their Story, Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1910.
- Barrett, E. Boyd, The Great O'Neill (Shane), Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1939.
- Beauford, William, The Antient Topography of Ireland, Dublin: Spotswood, 1783.
- Belfast and Ulster Directory, 1924, Belfast.
- Belmore, The Earl of, History of Two Ulster Manors (Manor of Finagh, Co. Tyrone, and Manor of Coole, Co., Fermanagh). Dublin: Alex. Thom and Co., 1903.
- Belmore, The Earl of, Some Social Notes of the Ulster Plantation (in The Ulster Journal of Archaeology, Sept., 1894, p. 51 et seq.)

- Betham's Genealogical Abstracts (in Lodge's Ms. Records of the Rolls, in Public Record Office, Dublin.)
- Bhaldraithe, Tomás de, The Irish of Cois Fhairrge, A Phonetic Study, Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1944.
- Bieler, Ludwig, Sidelights on the Chronology of St. Patrick (Irish Historical Studies, September, 1949.)
- Black's Guide to Ireland, London: Adam and Charles Black, 1906.
- Book of Ballymote, The, edited by Robert Atkinson, Dublin: The Royal Irish Academy, 1887.
- Book of Clondeboy, The, (Leabhar Cloinne Aodha Buidhe) Dublin: The Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1931.
- Book of Fenagh, The, by St. Gaillin, edited by W. M. Hennessey, Dublin: Alex. Thom and Co., 1875 (with supplementary volume by R. A. S. Macalister, published by The Stationery Office, Dublin, 1939).
- Book of Lecan, The, (foreward by Eoin MacNeill, descriptive introduction and indexes by Kathleen Mulchrone). Dublin: The Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1938.
- Book of Leinster, The, (passages will be found in Silva Gadelica, by S. H. O'Grady).
- Book of Rights, The, translated with notes by John O'Donovan, Dublin: The Celtic Society, 1847.
- Boswell, James, The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1941.
- Boyesen, Hjalmar H., Norway, New York: G. P. Putnam's Son, 1886.
- Broglie, Louise de, Comtesse de Haussonville, Robert Emmet, Paris: Michel Levy Freres, 1858.
- Buckle, Henry Thomas, History of Civilization in England, New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1910.
- Burke, Sir Bernard, General Armoury, London: Harrison and Co., 1878 and 1884.
- Burke, Sir Bernard, Landed Gentry of Ireland, London: Harrison and Co., 1925.
- Burke, Sir Bernard, The Landed Gentry of the United Kingdom, London: Harrison and Co., 1925.
- Burke, Sir Bernard, Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage, London: Harrison and Co., 1914.
- Burke, Sir Bernard, Reminiscences Ancestral and Anecdotal, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1882.
- Burke, Sir Bernard, Vicissitudes of Families, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1883, 2 vols.
- Bury, J. B., A History of Greece, New York: The Modern Library, no date.
- Butler, W. F. T., Confiscations in Irish History, Dublin: Talbot Press, 1917.
- Butler, W. F. T., Gleanings from Irish History, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1925.
- Byrne, Miles, Memoirs, Dublin: Mansel and Co., 1907.
- Calendar of Carew Manuscripts, edited by J. S. Brewer and Wm. Butler, London: Longmans and Co., 1873.
- Calendar of Ormond Deeds, edited by Edmund Curtis, Dublin: The Stationery Office, 1932, 3 vols.
- Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, London: H. M. Stationers' Office, 1903.
- Cambrensis, Giraldus, The Topography of Ireland, London: H.G. Bohn, 1863.

- Campbell, John H., History of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick and of the Hibernian Society, Philadelphia: The Hibernian Society, 1892.
- Carlisle, Nicholas, A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland, London: William Miller, 1810.
- Carlyle, Thomas, The Life of Oliver Cromwell, New York: George H. Doran Co., no date.
- Catalogue of Graduates in the University of Dublin (1591-1868), Dublin: Hodges, Smith and Foster, 1869.
- Catholic Encyclopaedia, The, New York: Universal Knowledge, 1912.
- Census of Ireland, circa 1659, edited by Séamus Pender, Dublin: The Irish Manuscripts Commission, The Stationery Office, 1940.
- Chester County, Pennsylvania, Tax List, 1747-1763. (Collections of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania.)
- Chronicon of Prosper of Aquitaine (in The Sources for the Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, by J. F. Kenney.)
- Chronicum Scotorum, London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1867.
- Civil Survey, The, (1654-1656) (Prepared for publication by Robert G. Simington of the Quit Rent Office, Dublin). Dublin: The Stationery Office, 1931-1938, 4 vols.
- Clark, Dan E., The West in American History, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1937.
- Clark, Hugh, An Introduction to Heraldry, London: G. Bell and Sons, 1889.
- Clery, P.S., Australia's Debt to Irish Nation Builders, Sydney, Australia: Angus and Robertson, Ltd., 1933.
- Colum, Padraic, Crossroads in Ireland, New York: Macmillan Co., 1930.
- Colum, Padraic, The Road Round Ireland, London: Macmillan Co., 1926.
- Concannon, Mrs. Thomas, Women of '98, Dublin: M.H.Gill, 1919.
- Condon, E. O'M., The Irish Race in America, New York: A.E. and R.E. Ford, no date.
- County Families of the United Kingdom, London: Spottiswoods, Ballantyne and Co., 1920.
- Crimmins, John D., Irish-American Historical Miscellany, New York: Published by the author, 1905.
- Crone, John S., A Concise Dictionary of Irish Biography, Dublin: The Talbot Press, 1926.
- Cronnelly, Richard Francis, Irish Family History, Dublin: Goodwin Son and Nethercott, 1864.
- Cullen, Rev. Luke, The Life and Sufferings of Ann Devlin, (Written in 1857, but not yet published. The manuscript is in the possession of the Very Rev. Canon Myles V. Ronan.)
- Cullen, Rev. Luke, 1798 in Wicklow, edited by the Rev. Myles V. Ronan, Wexford: The People Newspapers, Ltd., 1938.
- Curtis, Edmund, A History of Ireland, London: Methuen and Co., 1936.
- Curtis, Edmund, A History of Mediaeval Ireland, London: Macmillan Co., 1923; 2nd edition published by Methuen and Co., London, 1938.
- D'Alton, John, Illustrations, Historical and Genealogical, of King James's Army List, 1689, London: J. R. Smith, 1861.
- Dánta Grádha, (An Anthology of Irish Love Poetry, 1350-1750) collected and edited by Thomas F. O'Rahilly, Cork: Cork University Press, 1926.
- Darwin, Charles, The Voyage of the Beagle, New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1945.
- DeCourcy, B. W., A Genealogical History of the Milesian Families of Ireland, Cincinnati; W. F. Overdiek and M. L. Riegel, 1880.

- Dellquest, A.W., These Names of Ours, New York: T.Y.Crowell, 1938.
- Desmond, Humphrey J., Early Irish Settlers in Milwaukee. (Journal of the American Irish Historical Society, Vol. 29, pp. 103-111).
- Develin, Joseph Chubb, The Story of an Irish Sept, Rutland, Vermont: The Tuttle Publishing Co., 1938, 1st edition. 2nd edition, 100 copies, published by the author, Philadelphia, 1947.
- Dickson, Charles, The Life of Michael Dwyer, Dublin: Browne and Nolan, no date.
- Dictionary of American Biography, The, (American Historical Society).
- Dictionary of Canadian Biography, The, Toronto: Macmillan Co., 1926.
- Dictionary of National Biography, The, London: Macmillan Co., 1889.
- Dillon, General Arthur, The Irish Officers in the French Army, translated from the French. Dublin: James Duffy and Son, 1905.
- Dinneen, P.S., Irish-English Dictionary, Dublin: Irish Texts Society, 1927.
- Donovan, G.F., The Pre-Revolutionary Irish in Massachusetts, 1620-1775, Menasha, Wisconsin: Geo. Banta Pub. Co., 1932.
- Doughty, Charles M., Wanderings in Arabia, New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1923.
- Douglas, R.M., The Irish Book, London: Macmillan Co., 1936.
- Doyle, J.B., The Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Ireland, Dublin. Dublin Penny Journal. The, Dublin: P. Dixon Hardy, 1832.
- Edwards, Owen M., Wales, New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1902.
- Elizabethan Fiants (From the twenty-first report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland, Mar. 22, 1889). Dublin: H. M. Stationers' Office.
- Emmet and His Comrades (in Wolfe Tone Annual) Dublin: Brian O'Higgins, 1941.
- Emmet, Thomas Addis, The Emmet Family, New York: Privately printed, 1898.
- Encyclopaedia of American Biography (American Historical Society, 1938).
- Encyclopaedia Britannica, London: Enc. Brit. Co., 1929.
- Evening Mail, The, (published daily in Dublin).
- Ewen, C.L., A History of Surnames in the British Isles, London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1931.
- Faulkner, H.U., American Economic History, New York: Harper and Bros., 1943.
- Féilscríbhinn Éoin Mhic Néill (Essays and studies presented to Professor Eoin MacNeill, D. Litt., on the occasion of his seventieth birthday). Edited by Rev. John Ryan, S.J., D.Litt., Dublin, 1940.
- Fisher, Sidney George, The Making of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1896.
- Fiske, John, The Discovery of America, New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1902, 3 vols.
- Fletcher, G., Ulster, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921.
- Ford, Henry Jones, The Scotch-Irish in America, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1915.
- Fowler, Joseph H., Chapters in '98 History, London: St. Giles Bookshop, 1938.
- Froude, J.A., Julius Caesar, New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1912.
- Froude, J.A., The Spanish Story of the Armada and Other Essays, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899.
- Gael, The, (published in New York).
- Garber, John Palmer, The Valley of the Delaware, Philadelphia: John C. Winston, 1934.

- Gathorne-Hardy, G.M., The Norse Discoverers of America, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1921.
- Genealogiae Regum et Sanctorum Hiberniae, edited by Rev. Paul Walsh, Maynooth: The Record Society, St. Patrick's College, 1918.
- Genealogical Office Manuscripts (These consist of documents of various kinds which have been consulted in writing this book. They should be referred to by those engaged in similar work, but are too numerous for a detailed description in this bibliography. The Genealogical Office has its quarters in Dublin Castle.)
- Genealogies, Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach, edited by John O'Donovan, Dublin: The Irish Archaeological Society, 1843.
- General Register of the United States Navy and Marine Corps 1782-1882, Washington, D.C.: Thomas H.S. Hammerly, 1882.
- General Valuation of Ireland, The, (1847-1864) compiled by Sir Richard Griffith, Bart., Dublin: H.M. Stationers' Office.
- Gibbon, Edward, The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, New York: Harper and Bros., no date, 6 vols.
- Glories of Ireland, The, by various authors, Washington, D.C.: Phoenix Ltd., no date.
- Godkin, James, The Religious History of Ireland, London: H.S. King and Co., 1873.
- Goldenweiser, Alexander A., Early Civilization, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1922.
- Green, Alice Stopford, The History of the Irish State to 1014, London: Macmillan Co., 1926.
- Green, Alice Stopford, The Making of Ireland and Its Undoing, London: Macmillan Co., 1924.
- Green, Alice Stopford, The Old Irish World, Dublin: M.H.Gill and Son, 1912.
- Grellan, The Life of St. (Quotations from in Tribes and Customs of Hy Many.)
- Grote, Sir George, A History of Greece, New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., no date, 12 vols.
- Gwynn, Stephen, Ireland, London: Geo. Harrup and Co., 1927.
- Gwynn, Stephen, Robert Emmet, London: Macmillan Co., 1909.
- Hall, Mr. and Mrs. S.C., Ireland, Its Scenery, Character, etc. London: How and Parsons, 1842, 2 vols.
- Hallam, Henry, History of Europe during the Middle Ages, New York: The Colonial Press, 1900, 3 vols.
- Haltigan, James, The Irish in the American Revolution, Washington, D.C.: Patrick J. Haltigan, no date.
- Hardiman, James, History of the County and Town of Galway, Galway: Connacht Printing and Publishing Co., no date.
- Hare, A.J.C., Walks in Rome, London: George Allen, 1903, 2 vols.
- Harrison, Henry, Surnames of the United Kingdom, London: Eaton Press, 1907.
- Haverty, Martin, The History of Ireland, New York: T. Farrell and Son, 1867.
- Hayden, M. and G.A. Moonan, A Short History of the Irish People, Dublin: Talbot Press, 1920.
- Hayes, Richard, Old Irish Links with France, Dublin: M.H.Gill, no date.
- Hayes-McCoy, Gerard A., Scots Mercenary Forces in Ireland, Dublin and London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1937.
- Healy, T.M., Letters and Leaders of My Day, New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1929.

- Hearn, Lafcadio, Japan, New York: Macmillan Co., 1910.
- Heffernan, Patrick, The Heffernans and their Times, London: James Clarke and Co., no date.
- Heitman, F.B., Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1903.
- Henthorne, Sister Mary Evangela, The Irish Colonization Association of America, Champaign, Ill.: The Twin City Printing Co., 1932.
- Hibernica or Some Antient Pieces Relating to Ireland, Dublin: Edward Bates, 1747.
- Hickson, Mary, Ireland in the Seventeenth Century, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1884.
- Hill, Rev. George, An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster, Belfast: M'Caw, Stevenson and Orr, 1877.
- Hinton, Edward M., Ireland through Tudor Eyes, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935.
- Historical Atlas of Modern Europe, edited by R. L. Poole, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1902.
- Historical Ballad Poetry of Ireland, arranged by M. J. Brown, Dublin: The Educational Co. of Ireland, 1912.
- Hitti, Philip K., History of the Arabs, London: Macmillan Co., 1943.
- Hoagland, Kathleen, 1000 Years of Irish Poetry, New York: The Devin-Adair Co., 1947.
- Hogan, Edmund, Onomasticon Goedelicum, Dublin: Hodges, Figgis and Co., 1910.
- Hogan, James, The Ancient Irish Law of Kingship with Special Reference to Aileach and Cenél Eoghain (Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, XL, Sect. C, pp. 186-254).
- Hogan, James Francis, Irish in Australia, Sydney and Melbourne: Geo. Robertson and Co., 1860.
- Howard, John Jackson, Visitation of Ireland, London: Privately printed, 1897-1919.
- Hussey de Burgh, U.H., The Landowners of Ireland, (An Alphabetical list of the owners of estates of 500 acres or 500 pounds valuation and upwards, etc.) Dublin: Hodges, Figgis and Co., 1878.
- Hyde, Douglas, A Literary History of Ireland, London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1899.
- Index of Administrative Bonds (in Lodge's Ms. Records of the Rolls, Public Record Office, Dublin.)
- Index of Diocesan Wills (same as above).
- Index of Marriage License Bonds (same as above.)
- Index to Convert Rolls (same as above)
- Index to the Prerogative Wills of Ireland, 1536-1810, edited by Sir Arthur Vicars, Dublin: E. Ponsonby, 1897.
- Inquisitionum in Officiis Cancellariae Hiberniae Asservatum Reportorum (in Lodge's Ms. Records of the Rolls).
- Irish Fairy and Folk Tales, edited by W. B. Yates, New York: The Modern Library, no date.
- Irish Grammar, The Christian Brothers, Dublin: no date.
- Irish Historical Studies (The joint journal of the Irish Historical Society and of the Ulster Society for Irish Historical Studies; published twice yearly by Hodges, Figgis and Co., Dublin.)
- Irish Independent, The, published daily in Dublin.
- Jacobite Narrative of the War in Ireland (1688-89), A, edited by John T. Gilbert, Dublin: Joseph Dollard, 1892.

- Journal of the Association for the Preservation of Memorials of the Dead in Ireland, edited by Lord Walter Fitzgerald. Printed in Dublin.
- Joyce, P.W., A Concise History of Ireland, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1916.
- Joyce, P.W., A Short History of Gaelic Ireland, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1924.
- Joyce, P.W., A Smaller Social History of Ancient Ireland, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1908.
- Joyce, P.W., The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places, Dublin: McGlashan and Gill, 1870. Also in 2 vol. edition by Phoenix Pub. Co., Dublin.
- Keating, Geoffrey, The History of Ireland, Dublin: Irish Texts Society, 1908.
- Kelly's Ireland Directory, 1905, Dublin.
- Kelly, Patrick, Irish Family Names, Chicago: O'Connor and Kelly, 1939.
- Kenney, James F., The Sources for the Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, New York: Columbia University Press, 1929.
- King, William, Archbishop of Dublin, The State of the Protestants of Ireland under the Late King James's Government, Dublin: S. Powell, 1730.
- Kipling, Rudyard, The Irish Guards, etc., London: Macmillan Co., 1923.
- Knox, Herbert Thomas, The History of Mayo to the Close of the Sixteenth Century, Dublin: Hodges, Figgis and Co., 1908.
- Lamacraft, Charles T., Some Funeral Entries of Ireland. (Manuscript in the British Museum.)
- Lament for O'Neill, The, by MacNamee. (In Miscellany of the Celtic Society, edited by John O'Donovan. Obtained by him from four copies. Translation in The O'Neills of Ulster, by Thomas Mathews, Vol. II, p. 98.)
- Laud Genealogies (Bodleian Ms. 610).
- Lawless, The Hon. Emily, Ireland, New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1887.
- Leaders in Education, New York: The Science Press, 1932.
- Lecky, W.E.H., A History of England in the Eighteenth Century, New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1892-93.
- Lecky, W.E.H., History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe, New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1925, 2 vols.
- Lenox-Conyngham, M., An Old Ulster House, Dundalk; The Dundalgan Press, 1946.
- Leslie, Rev. James B., History of Kilsaran in the County of Louth, Dundalk: Wm. Tempest, 1908.
- Lewis's Atlas Comprising the Counties of Ireland, London: S. Lewis and Co., 1837.
- Lewis, Samuel, A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland, London: S. Lewis and Co., 1846.
- Libro de Matrículas del Colegio de Nobles Irlandeses, Salamanca, (Preserved at St. Patrick's, Maynooth.)
- Lodge's Ms. Records of the Rolls (Public Record Office, Dublin.)
- Long, H.A., The Names We Bear, Glasgow: H.A. Long, no date.
- Long, Henry Alfred, Personal and Family Names, Glasgow: Hamilton, Adams and Co., 1883.
- Lynch, John, Cambrensis Eversus, Dublin: The Celtic Society, 1848.
- Macalister, R.A.S., Ancient Ireland, London: Methuen and Co., 1935.

- Macalister, R.A.S., The Archaeology of Ireland, London: Methuen and Co., 1928.
- Macaulay, Thomas Babington, The History of England from the Accession of James II, New York: John W. Lovell Co., no date, 5 vols.
- MacCall, Seamas, And So Began the Irish Nation, New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1931.
- MacDonagh, Christopher, History of Ballymote and the Parish of Emlaghfad, Dublin: B. Comm., 1936.
- MacEnery, Marcus, (Review of Topographical Poem, edited by James Carney, in Irish Historical Studies, Sept., 1947.)
- MacFirbis, Duald, The Book of Genealogies (The original manuscript of MacFirbis is in the library of University College, Dublin. There is a transcript by Eugene O'Curry in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, but no other copies and no translations. A copy is being prepared by the Historical Manuscripts Commission.)
- MacLeod, Catriona, Robert Emmet, Dublin: Talbot Press, 1935.
- MacLysaght, E., A Short Study of a Transplanted Family in the Seventeenth Century, Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1935.
- MacLysaght, E., A Map of Mediaeval Ireland, showing the location of the principal Gaelic and Norman families, and preserved in the Genealogical Office, Dublin Castle. Signed by E. MacLysaght, Chief Genealogical Officer, and dated Nov. 21, 1945.
- MacManus, Seumas, The Story of the Irish Race, New York: The Irish Publishing Co., 1921.
- MacNeill, Eoin, Phases of Irish History, Dublin: Gill and Son, 1920.
- MacNeill, Eoin, Celtic Ireland, Dublin: Martin Lester, 1921.
- MacNeill, Place-names and Family-names of Clare Island, Dublin: Published by the Royal Irish Academy.
- Madden, Richard, The United Irishmen (Their Lives and Times), London: The Catholic Bookselling Co., 1860, 4 vols.
- Maginnis, Thomas Hobbs, The Irish Contribution to American Independence, Philadelphia: Doire Publishing Co., 1913.
- Maguires of Fermanagh, The, edited by Rev. P. Dinneen, Dublin: M.H.Gill and Son, Ltd., 1917.
- Mainistrech, Flann, Poems, in Archivium Hibernicum, II, pp.50,64,75,76.
- Marshall, John J., Lough Neagh in Legend and History, Dungannon: The Tyrone Printing Co., Ltd., 1934.
- Matheson, Sir Robert E., Special Report on Surnames in Ireland, Dublin: H.M. Stationers' Office, 1909.
- Matheson, Sir Robert E., Varieties and Synonymes of Surnames and Christian Names in Ireland, Dublin: H.M. Stationers' Office, 1901.
- Mathews, Thomas, The O'Neills of Ulster (Their History and Genealogy), Dublin: Sealy, Bryers and Walker, 1907, 3 vols.
- Maxwell, Constantia, Irish History from Contemporary Sources, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1923.
- Maxwell, Constantia, Ireland under the Georges, London: George C. Harrap and Co., 1940.
- McGee, Thomas D'Arcy, A History of Irish Settlers in North America from the Earliest Period to the Census of 1850, Boston: P. Donohoe, 1852.
- Meehan, Rev. C.F., The Fate and Fortunes of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, Dublin: Duffy and Sons, 1886.
- Memorial Atlas of Ireland (Showing the Provinces, Counties, Baronies, Parishes, etc.) Philadelphia: L.G. Richards and Co., 1901.

- Mid-Ulster Mail, The, published weekly by H.L.Glasgow at Cookstown, Tyrone.
- Miscellany of the Celtic Society, The, (Dublin: 1849, etc.)
- Mitchell, Dugald, History of the Highlands and Gaelic Scotland, Paisley: A. Gardner, 1900.
- Molasius, Life of St., (in Silva Gadelica.)
- Mommsen, Theodor, The History of Rome, New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, no date, 4 vols.
- Monmarché, Marcel, Espagne, Paris: Libraire Hachette, 1927.
- Monthly Army List, The, (July, 1920) London: H.M.Stationery Office, 1920.
- Muirhead's Ireland, London: Ernest Benn, 1932.
- Murray's Handbook of Ireland, London: Edward Stanford, 1902.
- Murray, Thomas, The Story of the Irish in Australia, New York: P.J. Kennedy and Sons, 1919.
- Murray, Thomas, The Story of the Irish in Argentina, New York: P.J. Kennedy and Sons, no date.
- Myers, Albert Cook, Immigration of the Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania, 1682-1750, Swarthmore, Pa.: Published by the author, 1902.
- New Standard Encyclopaedia, The, New York: Funk and Wagnall, 1931.
- New York Directory, 1933-34, The, Washington, D.C.: R.L. Polk and Co.
- O'Brien, Frederick, White Shadows in the South Seas, New York: The Century Co., 1924.
- O'Brien, Michael J., Early Irish Schoolmasters in New England, (The Catholic Historical Review, Vol. 888, 1917.)
- O'Brien, Michael J., George Washington's Associations with the Irish, New York: P.J.Kennedy and Sons, 1937.
- O'Brien, Michael J., A Hidden Phase of American History, New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1920.
- O'Brien, Michael J., Irish Colonists in New York, New York: The Shamrock Literary Society, no date.
- O'Brien, Michael J., The Irish in the United States, Washington, D.C.: Phoenix Publishing Co., no date.
- O'Brien, Michael J., Irish Pioneers in Kentucky, (a series of articles published in the Gaelic American.)
- O'Brien, Michael J., Some Virginia Soldiers of the Revolution, (Journal of the American Irish Historical Society, Vol. 27, p. 245 et seq.)
- O'Callaghan, John Cornelius, History of the Irish Brigades in the Service of France, Glasgow: Cameron and Ferguson, 1885.
- Ó Ceallaigh, Séamus, Some Place-names in County Tyrone (The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 1934.)
- Ó Cléirigh (O'Clery), Cucogry, Genealogies. (Manuscript in the Royal Irish Academy.)
- O'Connell, Mrs. Morgan John, The Last Colonel of the Irish Brigade, Count O'Connell, London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1892.
- O'Connor, G.S., Elizabethan Ireland, Dublin: Sealy, Bryers and Walker, no date.
- O'Connor, Sir James, History of Ireland, 1798-1924, New York: Geo. Doran and Co., no date.
- O'Conor Don, The Rt. Hon. Charles Owen, The O'Conors of Connaught, Dublin: Hodges, Figgis and Co., 1891.
- O'Curry, Eugene, The Ancient Laws of Ireland, Dublin: Alex. Thom, 1865-1879, 4 vols.

- O'Curry, Eugene, Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History, Dublin: James Duffy, 1861.
- O'Curry, Eugene, The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish, London: Williams and Norgate, 1873, 3 vols.
- O'Doherty, William James, Inis-Owen and Tirconnell, Dublin: Patrick Traynor, 1895.
- O Domhnaill, Sean, Warfare in Sixteenth Century Ireland (in Irish Historical Studies, March, 1946.)
- O'Donnell, Elliott, The Irish Abroad, London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, 1915.
- O'Donovan, John, The O'Connors of Connaught, Dublin: Hodges, Figgis and Co., 1891.
- O'Donovan, John, Ordnance Survey Letters, Descriptive of Londonderry, Donegal, etc. (These letters have never been published, but appear in typewritten form in various Irish libraries. Copies may also be consulted in the Library of Congress and in the library of Fordham University, in the United States.)
- Odum, Howard W., and Moore, Henry E., American Regionalism, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1938.
- O'Dwyer, George F., Irish Catholic Genesis of Lowell, Massachusetts, (Irish Pioneers of Lowell. From the Lowell Directory of 1835.) Lowell: Sullivan Bros., 1920.
- O'Dwyer, Sir Michael, The O'Dwyers of Kilmanagh, London: John Murray, 1935.
- O'Faolain, Sean, The Great O'Neill, New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1942.
- Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies in the War of the Rebellion, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.
- Official Roster of the Soldiers of the American Revolution who lived in the State of Ohio, (Published by the state society, Daughters of the American Revolution, Ohio, 1938.)
- O'Flaherty, Roderick, A Chorographical Description of West or H-Iar Connaught (written in 1684).
- O'Flaherty, Ogygia, Dublin: W. McKenzie, 1793.
- O'Grady, S.H., Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum, 1928. Trustees of the British Museum, 1928.
- O'Grady, S.H., The History of Ireland, London: Sampson, Low, Searle, Marston and Rivington, 1878.
- O'Grady, S.H., Silva Gadelica, London: Williams and Norgate, 1892.
- O'Hanlon, Rev. John, Lives of the Irish Saints, Dublin: James Duffy and Sons.
- O'Hart, John, Irish Pedigrees, New York: Murphy and Son, 1915, 2 vols.
- O'Hart, John, The Last Princes of Tara, Dublin: John Warren, 1873.
- O'Mellan, Friar, Narrative of the Wars of 1641. (Translated by Robert Macadam with notes by John O'Donovan.) Published in Historical Notices of Old Belfast, by Robert M. Young, Belfast: Marcus, Ward and Co., 1896.
- O'Mellan, Friar, Cín Lae Ó Mealláin (The Friar O'Mellan Journal) (Irish Mss. Commission, 1931, in No. 3 of Analecta Hibernica, Dublin: 1931.)
- O'Nolan, J.J., Article on Irish Surnames, (in Irish Independent, Dublin, July 28, 1948.)
- O'Rahilly, T.F., Early Irish History and Mythology, Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1946.

- O Rahilly, T.F., Measgra Dánta, Cork: Cork University Press, 1927.
- O'Rourke, T., History of Sligo, Town and County, Dublin: James Duffy, 1888.
- Orpen, Goddard Henry, Ireland under the Normans, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911-20. 4 vols.
- O'Sullivan Beare, Don Philip, Ireland under Elizabeth, Dublin: Sealy, Bryers and Walker, 1902.
- Our Racial and National Minorities (Edited by Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roucek) New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939.
- Parker, Edward Harper, Ancient China Simplified, London: Chapman and Hall, 1908.
- Passenger Lists from the "Shamrock or Irish Chronicle" 1815-1816 (in the library of the American Irish Historical Society.)
- Patent Roll of James I (in Lodge's Ms. Records of the Rolls, in the Public Record Office, Dublin.)
- Petrie, George, The History and Antiquities of Tara Hill (Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, Vol. 18, 1937.)
- Petty, Sir William, A Geographical Description of Ye Kingdom of Ireland, London: Will Berry at the Globe, Charing Cross, 1689.
- Philadelphia Directory, The, 1936, Washington, D.C.: R.L.Polk Co.
- Phillimore, W.P.W., Indexes to Irish Wills, London: Phillimore and Co., 1863.
- Phillips, W. Allison, The Revolution in Ireland, 1906-1923, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1926.
- Postgate, Raymond, Robert Emmet, London: Martin Secker, 1931.
- Poyser, Arthur, The Tower of London, London: A. and C. Black, 1908.
- Preliminary Survey of the Ancient Monuments in Northern Ireland, A, Belfast: H.M. Stationery Office, 1940.
- Price, Liam, The Place-names of Co. Wicklow, Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1945.
- Pynnar's Survey of Ireland (in Hibernica or some Antient Pieces Relating to Ireland, published by Edward Bate, Dublin, 1747.)
- Rafferty, Terence (Toirdhealbach Ó Raithbheartaigh) Genealogical Tracts, Dublin: The Stationery Office, 1932.
- Rapp, I. Daniel, A Collection of 30,000 Names of Immigrants in Pennsylvania, 1727-1776, Philadelphia: Ig. Kohler, 1876.
- Roberts, E.F., Ireland in America, New York: G.P. Putnam and Son, 1931.
- Rooney, John, The Genealogical History of Irish Families, New York: O'Hart Pub. Co., no date.
- Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Journal of the, (published in Dublin.)
- Rushe, Denis Carolan, History of Monaghan for Two Hundred Years, 1660-1860, Dundalk: Wm. Tempest, 1921.
- Ruvigny, Marquis de, The Titled Nobility of Europe, London: Harrison and Co., 1914.
- Ryan, Rev. John, Ireland from the Earliest Times to A.D. 800, Dublin: Browne and Nolan, Ltd., no date.
- Ryan, Rev. John, Ireland from A.D. 800 to A.D. 1600, Dublin: Browne and Nolan, Ltd., no date.
- Scottish Clans and Their Tartans, The, Edinburgh: W. and A.K. Johnston, Ltd., 1949.
- Senchus Mór, The, (included in The Ancient Laws of Ireland, edited by Eugene O'Curry.)
- Shine, F.H., The Irish Brigade in the Service of France, (F.R.Hist.Soc.)

- Skene, William F., Celtic Scotland, Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1880, 3 vols.
- Sligo Champion, The, (published weekly by Champion Publications.)
- Stefansson, Vilhjalmur, Great Adventures and Explorations, New York: The Dial Press, 1947.
- Stephens, James, Irish Fairy Tales, London: Macmillan Co., 1923.
- Stephens, James, Deirdre, London: Macmillan Co., 1924.
- Stephens, James, In the Land of Youth, London: Macmillan Co., 1924.
- Stoke, Philip Herbert, History of County Wexford, London: Elliott Stock, 1900.
- Stuart, The Hon. and Rev. Andrew Godfrey, A Genealogical and Historical Sketch of the House of Castlestewart in Ireland, Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1854.
- Sullivan Bros., The Clans of Ireland, Dublin: 1910.
- Sumner, William Graham, Folkways, Boston: Ginn and Co., 1906.
- Symonds, J.A., Renaissance in Italy, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909, 7 vols.
- Táin, The, (translated by Mary A. Hutton.) Dublin: The Talbot Press, 1924.
- Taylor and Skinner's Maps of the Roads of Ireland, Surveyed 1777, London: Published by the authors, 1778.
- Terry, Sir James, The Book of Arms, (1690) (Harleian Mss. 4039, 4040, in British Museum.)
- Testamentary Records of the Butler Families in Ireland (edited by Rev. Wallace Clare), Peterborough: Privately printed by The Peterborough Press, Ltd., 1932.
- Thom's Ireland Directory, 1933, Dublin.
- Times, The, (published daily in London.)
- Topographical Poem, The, by John O'Dubhagain (O'Dugan) and Giollanna-Naomh O'Huidhrin; translated and edited by John O'Donovan. The Irish Archaeological Society, 1862.
- Toynbee, Arnold J., A Study of History, New York: Oxford University Press, 1947.
- Tribes and Customs of Hy Many, edited by John O'Donovan, Dublin: The Irish Archaeological Society, 1843.
- Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, The, London: H.M. Stationer's Office, 1887.
- Trollope, Anthony, The Kellys and the O'Kellys, New York: Random House, 1937.
- Ua Clerigh, Arthur, The History of Ireland to the Coming of Henry II, London: T. Fisher Unwin, no date.
- Ulster Journal of Archaeology, The, Belfast: Marcus Ward and Co.
- Ulster Plantation Papers, edited by T.W. Moody, published in Analecta Hibernica, No. 8, Mar. 1938. Irish Mss. Commission.
- Walsh, Rev. Paul, Gleanings from Irish Manuscripts, Dublin: The Dollard Printing House, Ltd., 1918.
- Walsh, Rev. Paul, The O Cléirigh Family of Tír Conaill, Dublin: Sign of the Three Candles, 1938.
- Walsh, Rev. Thomas, The Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, New York: D. J. Sadlier Co., 1854.
- War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, The, London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1867.
- Ware, Sir James, The Writers of Ireland, Dublin: Robert Bell and John Fleming, 1764.
- Washington Directory, The, 1936, Washington, D.C.: R.L. Polk and Co.

- Weekley, Ernest, Surnames, London: E.P.Dutton and Co., 1916.
- Who's Who in America, 1932-1933, Chicago: A.N.Marquis Co.
- Who's Who in Art, London: The Art Trade Press, 1934.
- Who's Who in Philadelphia, 1920-1927, Phila.: Stafford's Nat. News Service.
- Who's Who in the Theatre, 1936, London: Pittman.
- Wicklow People, The, (published weekly at Wexford by the People's Press, Ltd.)
- Wilson, Philip, The Beginnings of Modern Ireland, Baltimore: Norman Remington and Co., 1913.
- Wood, Herbert, A Guide to the Records Deposited in the Public Record Office of Ireland, Dublin: H.M.Stationery Office, 1919.
- Wood-Martin, G., The History of Sligo, Dublin: Hodges, Figgis and Co., 1882.
- Woulfe, Rev. Patrick, Irish Names and Surnames, Dublin: H.M.Gill and Sons, 1906; 2nd edition, 1923.
- Young, Robert M., Historical Notices of Old Belfast, Belfast: Marcus, Ward and Co., 1896.
- Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie, New York: G.E.Stechert and Co.

INDEX

(For various forms of the surnames listed below see Irish Names and Surnames by Patrick Woulfe.)

	Page
Adam, descent from	8,9,18,94
Aedh Fair-gray (9th cent.)	6,26,27,33,124
Aherns	145
Ailech, kingdom and fortress	8,16,17,19,20,21,23,59,99,123
Aire túise (title of The O'Devlin)	53,54,121
Alfred the Great (9th cent.)	26
Almhain, Battle of (718)	25
American Revolution, Devlins in	81,86,132,139
American Wars, Devlins in	81,82,133,134
Ancestor worship in clan systems	96
Annals, Irish, unique in Europe	1,21,48,49
Annals, their contents and style	15,22,23,27,48,49,50
Antiquity of Milesian families	1,90
Antonine emperors of Rome	10
Appanages, creation of	14,21,103
Ara, People of (O'Haras of Crebilly)	84,137
Arab genealogies	95
Arboe (parish, church and cross)	37,38,42,70,78,110,111
Archbalds	145
Argentina, Devlins in	136
Aristocracy, Milesian	7,18,56,57,71,72,74,94,126
Armagh	23,25,26,31,103,120
Armor, Irish use of	27,35,36,37,62
Artrea, Devlins in	40,41,79,114
Aurelian, Roman emperor (3rd cent.)	11
Australia, Devlins in	82,87
Authenticity of annals and genealogies	10,11,15,94,99
Ballinderry River	39,40,41,42,43,113,114,125
Ballybo, definition of	34,113
Ballydonnelly (O'Donnellys' town)	27,34,39,103,104,115
Ballyhagan (O'Hagans' town)	58,114
Banshees	18,52,53,64,65,125,126
Bards	33,106,107
Barretts	64,145
Barrys	145
Bees in Irish law	60
Bell of St. Patrick	60,66,124,127
Biblical pedigrees	9
Binneys	145
Blonds, predilection for in Ireland	10,16,18,95
Borumha Tribute	10,11,14,25
Brahmin caste system	9
Brehons and brehon law	7,8,36,39,47,60,76,102,103,125

Brian Boru (11th cent.)	10,25,103,146
Britain, Celtic tribes of	91
British empire, Devlins in	136
Burkes (DeBurghs)	48,50,132,145
Butlers	2,48,145,150
California, Devlins in	135,139
Callans	145
Campbells	145
Canada, Devlins in	82,133
Carbery the Liffey-lover (3rd cent.)	6,11,12
Carberys	145
Carnech, St. (patron saint of O'Devlins)	20,101
Carr or Kerr, see O'Corrs	
Catholicism of Devlins	76,77,81,85,88,129,138
Cats in Irish law	60
Caulfield, Sir Toby (17th cent.)	34,37,53,58,66,67,116
Cavalry, Irish	37,108
Celtic crosses	37,38,42,109
Charles Martel (8th cent.)	25
Charles VIII, of France	48
Charlemagne (9th cent.)	12,49
Chichester, Sir Arthur	65,68,116
Chinese genealogies	90,92
City-dwellers, Devlins in America	82,134
Clan, use of term	4,5,7,117
Clan Colla	4,6,11,12,15,16,23,24,25,26,27,38,46,57,70,99,105,144,147
Clan Colman	4,6,13,14,25,31,103
Clan Conall	4,6,11,15,16,17,23,25,31,34,48,49,62,80,102,103,106,123
Clan MacDonald (Scottish)	101,102
Clan Owen	3,4,6,7,8,11,15,16,17,18,22,24,25,26,30,31,37,47,48, 49,54,63,64,67,73,74,80,95,102,103,104,106
Clovis, of France (6th cent.)	22
Coagh, Tyrone	45,78
Coat of arms, Devlin	37,38,108,109,110,111
Collas, The Three	10,11,12,13,14,15,23,38,46,70
Colman, St. (of Arboe)	38,111
Columba, St. (6th cent.)	19,20,27,31,44,100
Columbus	48
Comets and eclipses in annals	15
Conall (5th cent.)	6,16,18,22
Conn of the Hundred Battles (2nd cent.)	6,8,10,11,14,18,64,95,98,144,146
Connachta, The	4,6,11,16,19,25,57,99,149
Connolly (see O'Connellan)	
Constantine the Great (4th cent.)	14
Cookstown, Tyrone	45,158
Coppingers	145
Cormac mac Art (3rd cent.)	6,11,12,14,15,54,95,98,100
Cowells	145
Creats	66,127
Cultural superiority, Irish	1,25,26,73,103
Daltons	145
DeCourcys	145

DeLacys	31,106,145
Descendants of Binnech	6,21,102
Descendants of Feradach	6,21,37,102
Descendants of MacErc	4,6,19,21,27,100,102
Descendants of Niall	4,6,11,19,25,28,31,102
Devines (see O'Devins)	
Devlin (Doibhilén), eponym of the O'Devlins	3,4,6,7,11,24,28 105,141,142,143
Devlinites or Devlinians	49,50,51,52,53,55,119,120,121,122
Dillons	145,148
Diocletian, Roman emperor (4th cent.)	12
Dolan (see O'Dolan)	
Domnall of Dabhall (10th cent.)	6,7,21,24,27,28,32,143
Domnall of the Many Wiles (6th cent.)	6,21,143
Domnall O'Neill, King of Ailech (10th cent.)	26,27,32
Donegal, Devlins in	80,81,132,138
Dowling or Dowlin	144
Downpatrick, Battle of (1260)	15,32,33,45,47
Doyles	131
Dress of ancient Irish	36,43,61,107
Dress of ancient Scotch	107
Drumleene, location of	20,27,101,103
Dungannon (town and barony)	23,27,45,46,47,63,68,69,107,115,127,137
Dwyers	131
Egbert, King of England (9th cent.)	23
Election of Irish kings and chiefs	12,13,22,54
Elizabeth, of England (16th cent.)	25,58,60,61,64,71
Emania	14,16,23,25
Énna (5th cent.)	6,16,22,103
Eochaidh (4th cent.)	6,12,15,144
Eochaidh of Drumleene (10th cent.)	6,21,27,103,124,143,144
Eponym, meaning of	3,91
Eponyms, dates of Irish	101
Erc (goddess and mother of Muirchertach)	18,19,100
Esmonds (Osmonds)	145
Etymology of Devlin	29,104,105
Faradays	145
Farrells	145
Fenians and Fenian Sagas	12,48,95,146
Ferdinand and Isabella, of Spain.	48
Fergal (8th cent.)	6,25,51
Fergusons	145
Ferrys	145
Fiacha (4th cent.)	6,12,13,15
Fiants, meaning of	44
Fine, meaning of	7,100
Firbolgs	16,17,90
Fisheries of Lough Neagh	45,46,71,80
Fitzgeralds	2,48,50,53,64,98,119,126,145
Fitzgibbons	145
Flemings	145

Flemish surnames in Ireland	145
Flight of the Earls (1607)	24,63,64
Florida, Devlins in	135
Fogartys	145
Fontenoy (1745), Irish in battle of	84
Food of ancient Irish	43
Fosterage among O'Devlins	49,50,51,52,53,63,119,120
Fox, The	55,122
Funeral customs of Devlins	75,76,129,152
Gallaghers	131
Gallowglasses	44,48
Generation, years in	3,95,144,145
Genseric, Vandal king	8
Gilbrides	145
Gilchrists	145
Gilmartins	145
Gilmurrays	145
Gods and goddesses in Milesian genealogies	9,18,64,88,100,120
Gogartys	145
Graces	145
Greek genealogies	95
Greenan-Ely (see Ailech)	
Gunnings	145
Harolds	145
Haugheys	145
Heberians	6,10,103
Hengist and Horsa (5th cent.)	88
Henry III, of England (13th cent.)	22,46
Henry VII, of England (16th cent.)	48
Henry VIII, " "	45,53,61
Henry IV, of France (17th cent.)	62
Henry the Fowler, of Germany (10th cent.)	27
Heremonians	6,9
Heremonians of Leinster	9,14,25,95
High-kingship	15,21,24,95,96,98,99,102,103
Holy Roman Empire	15,73,102,103
Honorius, Roman emperor (5th cent.)	16
Horsemen (O'Devlins)	37,66
Houses of ancient Irish	42,43,57,116,117
Hugony the Great (circa B.C.250)	9
Illinois, Devlins in	134
Inauguration of The O'Neill	59,60,61,123,124,125
Inheritance, Irish law of	7,8,12,13,100
Inishowen, meaning of	23
Interpolations in the genealogies	11,97,98,103
Irians (Ulidians or Clanna Rury)	8,9,10,14,15,16,25,38,70,105
Irish words used in Munterevlin	130
Irish speakers in Tyrone	158,166
Ithians	6,8,9
Iveagh, People of (Magennises)	84,137

Jacobite Army, Devlins in (17th cent.)	84,85,138
Jamestown, Virginia (Settlement, 1607)	64
Japanese genealogies	92,95
John, King of England (13th cent.)	31,37
Joyces	145
Julius Caesar	18,92
Justinian, Byzantine emperor (6th cent.)	22
Keatings	145
Keegans	119
Keen, Irish (supposedly banshee's wail)	65,126
Kellys	131,132,145
Kennys	145
Keoghs	145
Kern, description of	35,36
Kernahans	145
Kilgarrifes	145
Killetragh, forest of	41,125
Kilpatrick's	145
Kinsale, Battle of (1601)	63
Knighthoods, hereditary in Ireland	98
Knockavoe, Battle of (1522)	25,49
Lament for O'Neill	22,33,106,157
Lawlesses	145
Legendary history, evaluation of	97
Leinster, Devlins in	150-152
Leth Camm, Battle of (827)	23,26
Londonderry, Devlins in	40,41
Lough Neagh	26,27,39,40,42,45,46,63,71,72,77,78 80,93,103,114,119,127,137
Louis IX, of France	46
Louisiana, Devlins in	135
Mac, use of in surnames	20,101,117,145
MacAlpin, Kenneth (9th cent.)	59,124
MacBreartys	145
MacCabies	66,97
MacCaffreys	50
MacCalls	145
MacCanns	99
MacCarthys	120,122
MacCawells	4,6,35,37,60,68,107,137
MacClancys	119
MacCoghlans	120
MacConnells	145
MacCormicks	145
MacDavetts	151
MacDermott, The (Prince of Coolavin)	54,121
MacDermott Roe, The	54,55
MacDermotts	60
MacDonald, The (Scottish Chief)	98
MacDonnell, The (Scottish Chief)	98

MacDonnells (Irish)	54,60,61,65,66,68,93,97,120,121,127,145
MacDonoughs	1,124,129,147
MacDowells	97
MacEgans	119
MacEochys	101
MacFirbises	2,8
MacGillicuddy of the Reeks, The	54,121
MacGillicuddys	29
MacGoldricks	145
MacGoverns	6,55,57,124,138
MacGraths	99
MacGregor, The (Scottish Chief)	98,123
MacHughs	145
MacInerneys	132
MacJordans	98
MacKeighrys	145
MacKennas	145
Mackinnon, The (Scottish Chief)	98
MacKitricks	145
MacLachlans (Scottish clan).	32,106
Maclean, The (Scottish Chief)	135
MacLoughlins	4,6,21,24,27,28,29,30,31,32,33,48,59,73,106,145
MacMahons	6,15,66,120,138
MacManuses	50
MacMurrays	66
MacMurroughs	35,37,60,93,103,137
MacNamaras	120,132
MacNamees	22,33,60,157
MacNeil, The (of Barra, Scottish Chief)	97
MacNeills, of Colonsay (Scottish clan)	95
MacQuillans	137
MacRorys	97
MacSheehys	97
MacSweeneys	97,138
MacVeaghs	99
MacWards	60
MacWilliams	98
Maeve's (Queen) genealogy	94
Magennises	66,137
Maguiggans	44,45,118,119
Maguires	6,12,14,15,50,55,56,57,60,68,72,73 80,119,120,123,124,125,128
Maps of Munterevlin	5,38,39,40,92,93,111,112,113,114,115,116
Maryland, Devlins in	133
May, Scottish surname	102
Men of Drumleene	4,6,20,27,28,29,30,35,103,104,141,142,143
Mensal land	7,54
Merovingian kings, of France	22
Milesian, use of term	8,9,90
Milesian surnames, origin of	20,21
Milesian titles	53,54,55,56,60
Milwaukee, Devlins in	133
Missionaries, Irish	26

Missouri, Devlins in	133
Mohammed	22
Moling, St. (7th cent.)	14
Moriartys	145
Muintir, meaning and use of term	117
Muirchertach mac Erca (6th cent.)	15,18,19,21,22,26,59,100
Muireadach (4th cent.)	13,14,102
Muireadach (5th cent.)	18
Muldoons	145
Mulhollands, see O'Mulhollans	
Munterevlin.	7,21,23,27,28,33,34,37,38,39,40,41,42,43,45,47,52,64,66 67,70,72,74,77,78,93,103,111,112,113,114,115 116,117,120,128,129,130,131,172-174
Murphys	131
Murrays	145
Nepotism among Irish clans	21,23,27,56,102,103
New England, Devlins in	81,133,135,138
New Jersey, Devlins in	134
New York, Devlins in	133,134,135,138
Niall Black-knee (10th cent.)	6,27,32
Niall Caille (9th cent.)	6,23,26
Niall of the Nine Hostages (5th cent.)	6,7,11,12,15,16,17,25,60 64,95,97,98,100,119
Niall of the Showers (8th cent.)	6,27,49,64
Nicknames or cognomens, Irish	12,20,77,80,119,120,129,130,132
Nine Years War	34,44,62,63,72
Normans in Ireland	25,65,98,103,104
Norman surnames in Ireland	20,98,145
Norsemen in Ireland	25,26,33,44,45,65
Norse names among the Irish	33,45,105
Norse surnames in Ireland	145
North Carolina, Devlins in	133,139
Nuadu of the Silver-hand, Irish god	18
Nugents	145,165
Numbers and distribution of Devlins	78,79,80,81,82,83,128,131,132,134 135,136,172-174,175,176
Numbers in Irish families, comparison of	83,131
O', use of in Irish surnames	20,29,35,78,101,117,121,131,145,159
O', use of in Scottish surnames	101,102
O'Breslins	119,145
O'Brien, The	23,55,98,122
O'Briens	25,32,35,119,120,131,138
O'Byrnes	62,131,151,152,153
O'Cahans	4,6,41,45,51,52,53,54,60,63,66,75,84,120,121,137
O'Callaghan, The (and surname).	55,122,145
O'Callanans	120
O'Carrolls	99
O'Cassidys	120
Ocha, Battle of (483)	19,100
O'Clerys	49,101
O'Connelans	66,67,93,127

O'Connells	145
O'Connors	6,11,13,29,30,32,49,50,83,99,131
O'Conor Don, The	54,122
O'Corrs	40,65,66,68,93,114,126
O'Dalys	33,60
O'Dempseys	138
O'Devins	6,147,149
O'Devlin, Bishop of Kells (died 1211)	31,85,106
O'Devlin, The (Chief of his name)	7,33,37,38,42,46,47,52,53,55,58,63 67,68,69,70,71,74,84,85,116,119,127,128,137
O'Devlins of Sligo	31,105,123,124,144,146-149,157
O'Dohertys (O'Doghertys)	6,80,94,131,138,151
O'Dolans	146,148
O'Donnell, The	54,122
O'Donnell, Red Hugh (17th cent.)	13,62
O'Donnell, Rory (17th cent.)	13,63,64
O'Donnells 6,13,25,34,47,48,49,60,61,62,73,119,121,123,124,145,152,167	
O'Donnellys.	4,6,20,27,30,31,34,35,37,39,47,60,61,63,65,66,67,68,84 105,107,115,120,121,128,131,143,145,157,167
O'Donoghue of the Glens, The	54,122
O'Donovan of Clan Cathal, The	54,122
O'Dorans	119
O'Dowdas	122
O'Driscolls	9,118,122
O'Flahertys	120,122,125,132,145,166
O'Flanagans	99,145
O'Garve, The (died 1188)	30,31,105,143
Ogham stones	18,94
O'Gnives (Agnew)	60,107
O'Gorman-Mahon, The	122
O'Grady of Kilballyowen, The	54,122
O'Hagans	6,37,40,47,53,58,59,60,61,63,65,66,68,69,73,74,84 93,102,108,114,115,119,121,123,125,128,131
O'Hanlons	66,99
O'Haras	137,147
O'Hares	1,91
O'Harts	99,145
O'Hickeys	120
O'Higginses.	56,57,60
Ohio, Devlins in	86
O'Husseys	56
O'Kelly, The	55,122
O'Kellys, Clan Owen	115
O'Kellys of Hy Many	6,14,35,99,115
O'Kennedys	120
Olaf the White, King of Dublin (10th cent.)	33,106
O'Learys	118
O'Lees	120
O'Looneys	120
O'Mahony, The	121
O'Malleys	132
O'Melaghlins of the North	6,28
O'Melaghlins of the South	6,28,31

O'Mellons	4,60,65,66,67,68,84,93,115,125,126,127
O'Moore	151
O'Morchoe of Oulartleigh, The	54,122
O'Mulhollans	60,66,84,115,126
O'Neill, Baron	51,121
O'Neill, Count of Tyrone	51,121
O'Neill, The (of Clandeboy)	55,122
O'Neill, Conn the "Halt" (16th cent.)	45,54,61,120
O'Neill, Hugh, Earl of Tyrone.	13,58,61,62,63,64,66,67,69,122,126
O'Neill, Sir Phelim (17th cent.)	13,45,58,83
O'Neill, Shane the "Proud" (16th cent.)	13,34,61,62,69
O'Neills . 1,2,4,6,12,21,23,24,26,27,28,29,31,32,33,34,36,40,47,48,49,50 51,54,56,58,59,60,62,65,66,67,68,69,70,73,74,75,84,115,118 120,121,122,123,126,128,131,137,138,145,151,152,167	
O'Quinns . . . 37,58,59,60,61,63,65,66,68,69,84,93,108,125,128,131,145	
Oral transmission of genealogies	95
Orosius, historian (5th cent.)	9
O'Rourke, The (Prince of Breifney)	122
O'Rourkes	138
O'Shiels	120
O'Toole, The	55,122,132
Owen (5th cent.) . . . 3,4,6,7,8,12,16,17,18,22,47,81,88,99,100,102,145	
Paganism in Ireland	9,13,17,18,94
Pardons granted to Irish chiefs	39,44,63,73,81,117,118,128
Patrick, St. (5th cent.)	16,17,19,25,26,59,99,124
Pedigrees, Irish, compared with genealogies	2,3
Penal Laws	76,83,87
Pennsylvania, Devlins in	81,86,139
Petrifactions in Lough Neagh	46
Philadelphia, Devlins in	133,134,135
Physicians, hereditary	120,125
Plebeians, Milesian	57,71,72
Plunkets	145
Polynesian genealogies	95,145
Portugal and Portuguese O'Neills	29,51,122
Potato Famine in Ireland.	81,82,133
Powers (Le Poer)	145
Prague, O'Devlin in	85,138
Prendergasts	145
Primogeniture in Ireland.	12,13,54
Progeny of Conn	4,6,10,11,18,19,25,90,95,100,146
Protestants, Devlin	76,81,84,86,87,129,139
Quaker Devlins	86,139
Raleigh, Sir Walter	60
Rapparees (Irish outlaws)	83
Red Branch, sagas and warriors	14,95
Redmonds	145
Red Spears, Battle of the (1241)	31,59
Reillys	131
Rigdomnas (eligible royal heirs)	13

Roches	145
Roll of Battle Abbey	11
Roman cognomens	29,129,130
Roman empire	1,16,22,25,65,73
Roman genealogies	92,100
Route, The (district in Antrim)	84,137,138
Rural nature of Irish civilization	45,60,82
Ryans	131
 Salamanca, Devlins in	85,86
Scanlons	129
Scone, Stone of	59
Scotch-Irish, inaccuracy of term	139
Scott, Sir Walter	1,5
Scottish chiefs and clans	1,5,91,97,98,101,106
Scottish settlers in Ulster	130
Sept, meaning of term	21
Shannon, Scottish surname	102
Shaughnessy (last ríghdomna in Devlin genealogy)	6,24,28
Shaughnessys	145
Sheas	132
Sigersons.	145
Skiddys.	145
Skin diseases, cured by Lough Neagh water	46,119
Slieve Gallion, mountain in Londonderry	33,46,126
Smiths	131
South Carolina, Devlins in	81,86,139
Spellings and pronunciations of Devlin	104,105,106,117,118,119,128 129,133,134,135,150-152,157-171,175,176
Static quality of inland Irish	80
Stewart, Andrew (undertaker of Munterevlin)	42,113,115,116
Stewarts	70,113,115
Stewartstown	42,45,78,114,116
Suleiman, Caliph (8th cent.).	25
Sullivans	83,131
Sword-bearers of <u>O'Neill</u> (O'Devlins)	35,60,74,107
Sword-land, meaning of	8
Swordsmen, meaning of term	68
 Taboos in pagan Ireland	12,36,54
Táin, Irish epic	10,15,57,94,95
Tara	11,12,15,16,19,59,98,102
Theodosius, Roman emperor (4th cent.)	22
Tribute paid by O'Devlins to O'Neill	67
True kerns of <u>O'Neill</u> (O'Devlins)	35,36,53,60,103,137
Tuathal Teachtmair (1st cent.).	14,64,95
Tullaghoge (town and kingdom)	23,24,27,47,58,59,61,74,102 103,104,114,123,124
Tyrone, meaning of	23
 Ulster, Plantation of	38,39,40,43,45,63,64,65,66,67 68,69,70,73,80,83,84,150
Ulster, warlike character of its people.	22

Utah, Devilns in	133
Unpropitious Irish names	29,104
Vicar of Arboe, O'Devlin (17th cent.)	38,71
Virgula, Devilns in	81,86,133
Walshes	131,145
Warlike character of native Irish	65
Welsh clans and Welsh surnames in Ireland	95,145
Wicklow, Devilns in	62,75,79,80,125,150-152,153-156,167
Wild Geese, The.	84
Wild Irish in forest of Killetragh	41,114
William the Conqueror (11th cent.)	11,28
Wolfhounds, Irish	43
Yellow Ford, Battle of the (1598)	62,63
Ynglings, Norse family.	33

ERRATA

p.xi, 2nd par., 1.7, insert-of Sacramento-
at end of line.

p.41, 1.16, Londonderry for Londererry.

p.84, last line par.4, cannibalism for
cannabilism.

p.88, 1.25, fifth for fifty.

p.141, 1.21, should read-Giolla mac Liag,
son of Eachthighearn, son of Donnghal, son of
Ceallachán, son of Dobholen, son of Donnghal,
son of Seachnasach, son of Ceallach, son of
Eochaidh, son of Domhnall.

p.162, 1.32, Guinevant for Gunevant, and
Audoyer for Andoyer.

